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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 145

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PARTY AND STATE

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 30-33

Article by Qin Huaihe [4440 3232 3109]: "Humble Suggestions for Revising the Constitution"]

[Text] As early as March 1979, ZHENGMING monthly had already issued an appeal that China's current constitution should be revised (as contained in the article "Communist China's Constitution Should Be Revised Now," by Li Yan [7812 1750]). Today, the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress finally passed the resolution on revision of the constitution and establishment of a Constitutional Revision Committee. On the afternoon of 15 September, the Constitutional Revision Committee held its first plenary meeting to declare its establishment. Its chairman is Ye Jianying; its secretary general, Hu Qiaomu; deputy secretaries general are Wu Lengxi [0702 0397 6007], Hu Shun [5170 4939], Gan Chisen [3927 4379 2773], Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342], Ye Duiyi [5509 4648 5030], Xing Yimin [6717 0076 3046], and Wang Hanbin [3769 3352 2430].

The constitution is the fundamental law of a state. The work of revising the constitution is a major event in the political life of that state. Overseas Chinese and the brethren in Hong Kong and Macao are all concerned with this event. This writer would like to put forward some of his own views on those articles of the country's current constitution that should be revised, so that they may serve as a reference for the Constitutional Revision Committee.

Where Do the Problems in the Current Constitution Lie?

China's current constitution was revised and passed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress after the smashing of the gang of four; the second and third sessions of the Fifth National People's Congress revised some individual articles, such as removing citizens' rights to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates, and write big-character posters," etc.

But in this writer's opinion, the constitutional revision work to be undertaken by the Constitutional Revision Committee at this time should not be a revision of individual articles but a fundamental, systematic, and overall revision.

Why?

Because even though China's current constitution was formulated after the smashing of the gang of four, the savor of "whateverism" at the time was still rather thick, and the leftist line still penetrated the constitution, which thus still contains certain articles that reflect obsolete political and theoretical viewpoints and conditions no longer in accord with objective realities. Also, the prescriptions of many articles are far from complete, succinct, concrete, or clear. Even more important, since the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, political life, economic life, and cultural life in Chinese society have all undergone tremendous changes and new developments. The current constitution is already fundamentally incapable of adapting to the needs of the new situation. Therefore it is very necessary to proceed immediately with its revision on a large scale.

The "Preamble" Must Be Systematically Revised

The "Preamble" indicates a country's orientation of development. On this, we must start a big operation and make a fundamental, systematic revision.

The second natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Since the founding of the state under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been consolidated and strengthened, and China has become a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity." This is a description of the process of the country's development and the country's outlook since the founding of the state. Quite obviously this is a bureaucratic composition that does not seek truth from facts. And it is definitely erroneous for part of this composition to devote so much space to the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and to affirm it positively. Nor is it appropriate to put "Chairman Mao" ahead of "the Chinese Communist Party." The way the "great victories" and "beginnings of prosperity" are broached also merits examination.

The third natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Chairman Mao Zedong was the founder of the People's Republic of China." This approach definitely runs counter to the idea of the "Internationale" that "there never was any savior," not to mention the fact that Mao was not the only person who founded the People's Republic of China. There were also Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and other revolutionaries of the older generation and countless revolutionary martyrs; there were also hundreds and thousands of revolutionary people. These merits cannot all be attributed to a single person. Therefore, this sentence should be revised.

The fourth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction." Here, not only is "disaster" written as "triumph" but, even more erroneously, "the first"

is emphasized; this suggests that later on there will be a "second" and a "third." Therefore, this sentence should be among those subject to complete elimination.

This section further reads: "In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this period is: To persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and to make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century."

Although the so-called "basic line" here is not further expounded, everyone knows that it means "the three exists" (there still exist classes, class contradictions, and class struggle; there still exists the struggle between the two paths of socialism and capitalism; and there still exists the danger of capitalist restoration), and they must be "discussed yearly, monthly, and daily." This "basic line" was the final refuge of the sins that caused all the struggles for 10 to 20 years in Chinese society, and it is an old tune that should no longer be played again. The "general task" that is derived from the basic line also chooses to make "class struggle" salient, but it is far from complete since it does not make salient the shift of the focus of the party's and state's work. In Ye Jianying's speech at the meeting held to celebrate National Day last year, the "general task" was broached in a new way--that is, "to unite the people of all nationalities and bring into play all factors so that we can work with one heart and one mind and go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building a modern, powerful, socialist country." Later, in the revised draft of the Chinese Communist Party Constitution, the general task was further changed: "To unite the people of all nationalities, so that we can work with one heart and one mind, develop our socialist economy in a planned, proportionate way and with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and build a modern, powerful, socialist country with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization." The constitutional revision this time should have an even more succinct and clearer formulation on the "general task," so as not only to make salient the focus of the state's work, which is modernization, but also to realize the spirit of democracy and rule of law in the country's political life.

The fifth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road...." This is the Chinese Communist Party's basic line as reflected in the constitution. The so-called "bourgeoisie" actually no longer exists--the bureaucratic, comprador bourgeoisie was long overthrown; the property of the national bourgeoisie was long ago confiscated by the state; national bourgeois elements have long been transformed into laborers living on their own strength. Under such circumstances, continuing to talk about persevering in the struggle is like shooting an arrow without a target. Above all, what is meant by the "capitalist road" is conceptually very vague and can easily lead to confusion. Therefore, the revised constitution should no longer have these two "perseveres."

The sixth natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad." Here, the way intellectuals are excluded from the "worker-peasant alliance" as objects of the effort for "unity" is out of rhythm with the new point of view of the Chinese Communist Party, as expressed by Deng Ziaoping in emphasizing that intellectuals have already become part of the working class. It must be revised.

The seventh natural section of the "Preamble" reads: "Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland." Everybody knows that the way to broach the Taiwan question now is "Taiwan's return to the motherland." Therefore, it is necessary to replace "We are determined to liberate Taiwan" with "Taiwan's return to the motherland."

The world is changing; international relations are also changing. The suggestion in the last natural section of the "Preamble" concerning the handling of international relations in accordance with "the theory of the three worlds" also warrants consideration. Although it is obviously rather difficult for all members of the Third World, such as China and Vietnam, to become "associated"--or "united," a trend of "association" between China and countries of the "Second World," and even United States of the "First World," has somehow emerged, and the formation of an "international united front" seems possible. Therefore, the principle and line concerning the handling of "international affairs" must also be revised somewhat.

"General Principles": Focus for Revision

The "General Principles" chapter prescribes the basic program for structuring the state and presents the overall outlook of Chinese politics, economy, and culture. Along with progress in the democratization of the state and the demand to further carry out democracy and the rule of law, and along with major reforms of the leadership system of the state and the national economic system that are in progress or are scheduled, the "General Principles" section of the current constitution would naturally become the focus for revision at this time.

Article 1 of "General Principles" prescribes: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." The state system of "a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" prescribed here no longer is in accord with China's present conditions. Along with the new changes in the conditions of the classes in the country, the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie, and also those former landlords and rich peasant elements whose labels have already been removed, all belong to the category of the people. A relationship between those who dictate and those who are dictated to does not exist among the people. The "dictatorship of the proletariat"

has fundamentally lost the objects of its dictatorship. And in political and economic life today, when the modernization of the state is being pursued, the question of people's democracy becomes very important; it is the principle aspect of the life of the state. Whether or not people's democracy is put into effect concerns whether or not the work of the four modernizations can be accomplished. Therefore, the suggestion of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" has become unnecessary; it must be replaced by "people's democracy." This stroke should be one that concerns the fundamental blueprint of the future and the destiny of the state.

Articles 2 and 3 prescribe: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the entire Chinese people"; "all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels." (And "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power" -- Article 20.) Here, if Articles 2 and 3 are considered together with Article 20, there is quite a contradiction. "The highest organ of state power" is not "the core of leadership," and "the core of leadership" is not a legally prescribed "organ of power." Then what is the relationship between the two? According to past experience (or we should say lessons), this means "Substituting the party for the government"--"the core of leadership" rules over the "organ of power." But China's political system from now on should incline toward "separation of the party and government." People's congresses at various levels and their standing committees must genuinely exercise their functions and wield their power. Hence, it obviously will no longer do to put "the core of leadership" above the "organ of power." Consequently, the wording regarding "the core of leadership" should be revised.

Article 5 prescribes: "There are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at the present state: socialist ownership by the whole people, and socialist collective ownership by the working people." Today, the state allows private individuals to run industrial and commercial enterprises, and allows the existence of individual economy and its development within certain limits. Therefore, the two kinds of ownership should be changed to three kinds of ownership, with the addition of private ownership.

Article 7 prescribes: The rural people's commune sector of the economy is a socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership--that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade, and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when conditions are ripe.

"Provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured, commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas they may keep a limited number of livestock for personal needs." Here, the idea that "a production brigade may become the basic accounting unit" is no longer suitable to the spirit of the time; it was a product under the influence of "transition in poverty" exemplified by Dazhai; this is point one. Point two, the Chinese Communists' economic policy in the countryside has already undergone considerable change; the "three self and one fix" (the extension of plots for private

use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on individual households), which used to be regarded as the "black model" for capitalist restoration, has now been reaffirmed. At present, a "fever for fixing output quotas" now prevails in China's vast countryside. Therefore, the prescription "provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured" should be revised. The "three self and one fix" should now be prescribed in the newly revised constitution, and be prescribed more clearly and more concretely.

Article 11 prescribes: "The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism..." This so-called "general line," together with the "Great Leap Forward" and the "people's communes," make up what people have come to know as "the three red banners"; they were the representative products of Mao Zedong when he began to promote his "leftist" line in the late 1950's. The "Great Leap Forward" has already been rejected; "people's communes" are full of problems; and the general line has long been criticized as being representative of the fanaticism of the petty bourgeoisie. Regarding this line, words like "going all out, aiming high" are at best the nature of a poster or a slogan void of any substantive meaning. According to the new situation and new task under the state program for the four modernizations, it is fundamentally impossible for this "general line" to guide the Chinese people to their expected destination. Therefore, the revised constitution must prescribe a general line, in form as well as in substance, that can really become the criterion for action by the Chinese people to their expected destination. Therefore, the revised constitution must prescribe a general line, in form as well as in substance, that can really become the criterion for action by the Chinese people in their attempt to build socialism. It is necessary to incorporate the spirit of the new economic principles--"give full play to superior local conditions, exalt strong points and avoid weak points, protect competition, and promote association."

The same article also prescribes: "In developing the national economy, the state adheres...to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation, and industry as the leading factor..." This, too, is no longer in accord with current conditions in the development of China's national economy. In the past, because of the emphasis placed on the principle of taking "industry as the leading factor," the foundation was "trampled underfoot." This seriously affected the development of the national economy of a China established on the foundation of agriculture. Hence, "industry as the leading factor" should no longer be suggested; instead, the proportionate development of energy, communications, the building industry, agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry should now be suggested.

The provision of Article 12 concerning the "development of scientific enterprises" must clearly add some wording on encouragement and rewards for scientific and technical workers who come up with inventions and creative achievements.

Article 13 prescribes: "...Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor, and it must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." This means that the education

principle and the education work principle prescribed by Mao Zedong have been written into the text of the constitution. The question of education being combined with productive labor" and the question of training the "worker," which once was emphasized here, led to great deviations and brought great losses to the educational enterprises of the state. This made the schools neither civilian nor military institutions, and a considerable part of the students neither well nor poorly trained. Therefore, the wording about education being "combined with productive labor" should be discarded, and the training of the "worker" should be changed to the training of "competent personnel for the four modernizations."

Article 14 prescribes: "...All cultural undertakings must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and serve socialism." "The workers, peasants, and soldiers" are of course the principal players in the state, but they are not the only players. "Serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers" must be changed to "serve the people of all of China."

Article 15 prescribes: "The leading personnel of state organs at all levels must conform to the requirements for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause, and their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged, and young." This article clearly must be amended: Repeal the lifelong tenure of cadres, recruit them young and make them professional, and carry out a cadre retirement system.

Article 17 prescribes: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." Whereas China in the past has not seriously practised people's democracy or insisted on the principle of democracy, and whereas for a long time it has subscribed to "rule of man" rather than "rule of law," and whereas, from the point of view of a basic blueprint to run the country, democracy and rule of law are fundamental, the principle of democracy and the principle of the rule of law are equally important, and the absence of either of them will no do: therefore, this article must be amended with the provision that the state adheres to the socialist principle of rule of law and insists on the equality of everyone before the law.

The provision of Article 18 on landlords, rich peasants, etc., is no longer suitable to the present conditions and may be discarded.

Article 19 prescribes: "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China." Such concentration of party authority and military authority in one person is a premise for "substituting the party for the government" and the key to the shaping of a dictatorship by the party leader. Since the Party Central Committee Chairman legally wields military power, it is easy for him to command everything, in the absence of all restraints. The reason Mao Zedong was able to carry out a "patriarchal system," to practise "only what I say counts," is fundamentally because he held the military power in his hands. Have people not often said so? The reason Mao Zedong was able to instigate the "Cultural Revolution," dared to start the "Cultural Revolution," and overthrow whomever he wished to overthrow was precisely because he held military power and firmly secured the military. This

lesson has been painful! From now on, whether or not China's military power should continue to be wielded by the party chairman, and whether or not the constitution should still provide that the "Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China," are things that really must be considered carefully! Besides, the military is ordinarily an important component of the state apparatus. The party is the party, the government is the government, and the military is the military; it is neither appropriate to "substitute the party for the government" nor permissible to "command the military through the party." From now on, China's military power should be rationally entrusted to qualified, prestigious generals well versed in military affairs (Mao Zedong would ordinarily be considered well versed in military affairs), but not necessarily to the party chairman in charge of ideological leadership. This question concerns matters of great and far-reaching importance; the Constitutional Revision Committee must treat it seriously!

(The above are this writer's views on the "Preamble" and "General Principles" of the current constitution. Other views will be contained in another article, to be published in the next issue.)

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FURTHER DISCUSSION OF 'EVERYONE IS EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW'

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] In Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80
p71-78

[Article by Pan Nianshi [3382 1819 0037] and Qi Naikuan [7871 0036 1401] of the Shanghai College of Social Sciences, Legal Research Institute; "Further Discussion of the Issue 'Everyone is Equal Before the Law'"]

[Text] In our article "On 'Everyone is Equal Before the Law'" we pointed out that this principle of the socialist legal system is an all-embracing principle, incorporating not only the legal system but also the legislature. After publication of this article some comrades expressed agreement while others expressed opposition. Those comrades in opposition said that "everyone is equal before the law" is appropriate only for legal equality and cannot be "enlarged" to include legislation. The reason is that "law is a tool of class oppression while it itself has no class equality to speak of. The application of Marxist class theory to legislation can make no mention of class equality as this would produce class harmony and revisionism." This opinion probably refers to "there can be no talk of equality between anti-revolutionaries and revolutionaries." Anti-revolutionaries of course cannot be given any equal rights but whether or not the law itself has factors of equality or socialism has equality is altogether another matter and they cannot be treated together. To go from complete prohibition of saying "everyone is equal before the law" to permitting the explanation of it as no one is above the law cannot be called any great progress, but thought must be liberated and all taboos must be removed. We now present several topics which explain the implications of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law."

(1) A Discussion of the Concept

The main reason why there has been so much controversy over the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" is because everyone has different ideological viewpoints and at the same time the concept is unclear and also because surface meanings are given for some specialized terms so that divergent explanations thus occur. In order to clarify the concept and significance of "everyone is equal before the law" we first present here a quote from Lenin's ZHUYIFAY JIAOSHOU LUN PINGDENG [DISCUSSIONS OF EQUALITY BY LIBERAL FACTION PROFESSORS].

Lenin said: "While the bourgeoisie was struggling with the Middle Age, feudal, slave system of class privilege it made demands for completely equal citizen's rights." (LENING QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 20, p 138)

First of all Lenin explains that the first use of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" was in bourgeois opposition to the feudal system. This points out the goal and the historical background, which is of great help in understanding the content of this slogan. Next, and also very important, it explains the contrast between the class privileges of the feudal system and the completely equal citizen's rights advocated by the bourgeoisie. It actually opposed feudal privileges and demanded the implementation of equality for everyone as found in bourgeois democracy.

A reading of bourgeois documents on law proves that Lenin's thesis is absolutely correct. In the "American Declaration of Independence of 1776, "everyone is equal before the law" included the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The "French Declaration of Human Rights" of 1789 said "people are born with the right to lifelong freedom and equality," "all citizens are equal before the law." The "Constitution of the Swiss Federation" of 1874 said "All Swiss citizens are equal before the law. In Switzerland there are no relationships of servant and master or any privileges of position, birth, status or family." The "Constitution of Japan" of 1946 said "All the people are equal under the law and there are no differences because of race, creed, sex, social status or family status in political, economic or social relationships." All of these passed through legislative processes and very clearly make legal stipulations regarding the equal status of citizens and oppose special privileges. However, the bourgeois democratic system ultimately is but a private ownership system and as far as the proletariat is concerned it is nothing but an empty form. Just as Lenin said, "Bourgeois democracy asserts that at all times and in all places all citizens have equality of sex, creed, race and nationality, but this equality has never been implemented anywhere and, moreover, capitalist dictatorship prevents it ever being implemented. A soviet government or proletarian dictatorship immediately implements equality of this kind because only through elimination of the bourgeois private ownership system and by opposing the division or re-division of the workers' rights over the means of production can this goal be attained." (GONGCHAN TUOJI QIYICI DAIBIAO DAHUI [FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL] in LENING QUANJI Vol 28 p 442) Lenin herein points out the emptiness of the so-called bourgeois equality, that only proletarian equality is real, and moreover points out the reasons underlying the discovery of these differences.

In ZIYONPAI JIAOSHOU LUN PINGDENG Lenin said, "Socialist references to democracy always mean social democracy and equality of social status." "Politically it refers to equal rights and economically it eliminate classes." Lenin's equal rights "give all the masses true equality with general participation in all affairs of state." Elimination of classes "means that all citizen's have the same rights to

make use of the public means of production, public land and public factories when engaging in labor. (LIENING QUANJI Vol 20 p 139) This gives a very clear explanation of the content and definition of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law" within the socialist system.

Comprehension of Lenin's statements given above provides a simple and clear concept of our use of the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." This is to say that the "equality" refers to equal rights and "everyone" refers to the legal code. The law must of course be implemented so it refers to the application of the laws. The complete meaning and content of "everyone is equal before the law" is opposition to all exploitive privileges and the implementation of socialist democracy. To this point in time which of our leaders and which of our party and state documents have favored privileges and opposed democracy? None of course. However, there are some comrades who refer to the "class nature of law" and "a dictatorship cannot speak of equality" to oppose the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." It appears that our article cannot be concluded here but must make an analysis of these statements.

(2) How to Comprehend "Elimination of Classes"

Some comrades say that classes are unequal so that in a class society there can be no equal relationships between people and that only after the elimination of classes can there be equality. Therefore, they not only denounce the bourgeois formulation "everyone is equal before the law" as empty and also say that our use of "everyone is equal before the law" is not practical (which entirely refutes this slogan) or is not completely practical (this partial approval permits legal equality but does not permit legislative equality). We do not entirely agree with these statements. "Equality means the elimination of classes" is a Marxist principle and the founders of modern social science Marx and Engels have said that if we do not understand equality as the elimination of classes it is merely an empty word. This of course is correct, the problem lies in understanding the "elimination of classes."

The class structure of each society is different and the class relationships are also different. There are several different conditions involved in making a connection between equality and class.

First, in countries with landlord-bourgeois dictatorships all property and all political power is in the hands of the property owners. They depend on their financial and political powers to engage in exploitation. The workers lack property and depend on selling their labors to earn a living and thus cannot escape repression and exploitation. "Since capitalists and landlords have financial and political power and the workers lack these powers there can be no true equality between factory owners and workers or between landlords and peasants." (QUANYI JULIAN XIANPA CAODAN [ON THE DRAFT OF THE SOVIET UNION CONSTITUTION] in STALIN XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF STALIN] Vol 2, p 402) This is one condition.

Next, when the proletariat has won political power and controls political power, yet the bourgeoisie continues to engage in a life and death struggle, then in order to suppress bourgeois resistance and defeat the bourgeoisie the proletariat cannot but eliminate their weapons and take away their rights. "Victory is complete." "In a transitional period and in a time of fierce struggle we not only do not permit freedoms but issue warnings that we will take away the rights of those citizens who obstruct the socialist revolution." (QUANE JONGHUE ZHONGYANG LISHIHUE QUANHUI [THE ALL RUSSIA CENTRAL UNION MANAGERS CONFERENCE] in LIENING QUANJI, Vol 29, p 265) This also is a condition.

Of course Lenin also said, "To win equality we must eliminate classes, so we must also eliminate the differences between workers and peasants." (QUANE SHENHUIJIACUO DIYICI LAIBAO DAHUI [FIRST ALL RUSSIA CONGRESS IN SOCIAL EDUCATION] in LIENING QUANJI Vol 29, p 322)

Just what is the elimination of classes? What Lenin said was to place all citizens in a position of equal status in their relationship to the means of production, which is to eliminate the bourgeois private ownership system, eliminate exploitation and implement a socialist system of public ownership over the means of production. The key problem is the elimination of exploitation because to have exploitation means to have privileges which then prohibits equality. Therefore he said: "The exploiters cannot be equal with those exploited," "not until the possibility of one class exploiting another class has been completely eliminated can there be any true and practical equality." (WUCHANJIEJI GEMEING HE PANTU KAOJI [THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND REBEL (kaoci ji) [5072 5412 1015]] in LIENING QUANJI Vol 28, p 234) The reason why he made a connection between elimination of classes and elimination between the differences between workers and peasants was because at that time the peasants were private owners and part-time laborers and there is the possibility of the private ownership of the petty bourgeoisie becoming capitalism, so he "had to take the necessary precautions to avoid aiding the bourgeoisie." As for the private plots, household sideline occupations and individual village economies now found in China as long as there is no exploitation then there is no variance from Lenin's concept of private ownership.

From this it can be seen that the key to eliminating classes is to eliminate the exploiting class. The phrase having classes prevents equality refers to the relationship between the exploiting class and the exploited class and is an opposition to class relationships. As for the time when the exploiting class has already been eliminated and there is no class opposition, that is a different condition.

Therefore, the problem is very clear. Under the dictatorship of the exploiting class the working people do not have equal rights and when elements of the exploiting class still are in opposition the proletariat cannot give them equal rights. Another problem also is very clear. When the proletariat has become the ruling class and won

democracy, eliminated the private ownership system and the system of exploitation the workers will then have broad-ranging, real democracy. When the exploiters no longer are in opposition and classes have been eliminated equality can then be broadly extended to the whole populace and it can truly and thoroughly implemented.

(7) The Question of Whether or Not Socialist Law has Equality

Some comrades may say that both the law and the state are tools of class dictatorship and have class nature rather than equality. We believe that this problem cannot be treated as a whole but rather must be concretely divided up, as the question of equality in socialist law is one requiring special investigation.

Law expresses the will of the ruling class and it works in the interest of the ruling class. There is no error in this. The problem arises from the complexities of class interests and class consciousness as there cannot be one without the other. The common interests and will of the exploiting classes are to engage in exploitation but because of changes in the proportions between production relationships and class forces in different societies at different times, exploitation is carried out by a variety of means and methods. In order to carry out exploitation the ruling class adjusts the internal relationships and in order to distribute the spoils of exploitation the ruling class must make even greater adjustments to the internal relationships. The law simultaneously reflects the various social relationships, among them are the aspects of repression and the lack of it, the aspects of equality and the lack of it. There also is the condition of formal equality and actual inequality, and bourgeois laws are specially like this. So practically speaking all exploiting class laws serve to maintain the rights of the exploiting class to carry out exploitation and for the working class these laws are fetters and cudgels and there is no equality to speak of.

Socialist societies and the exploiting classes are fundamentally dissimilar. The proletariat opposes exploitation, eliminates private ownership of the means of production, eliminates exploitive systems and ultimately eliminates classes. Therefore there is no class opposition in a socialist society. In the early period of a socialist society there is an exploiting class and exploitive elements and there are antagonistic class relationships but these are remnants of the old society and are not fixed features of a socialist society and are to be eliminated rather than kept for any length of time. When the proletariat transforms the old society and builds a new one it does not need any privileges but uses the worker-peasant alliance as a base to unite over 90 percent of the people in combining their strength as one. In this way socialism eliminates exploitation and eliminates class and it struggles for equality and implements equality. Lenin never said that the proletariat ignores and does not want equality but said: "If equality is precisely understood as the elimination of classes then the proletarian fight for equality and the slogan about equality truly have great significance." (GUOJIA YU JENING [STATE AND REVOLUTION] in LIENING LIANJI, Vol 25, p 458)

Socialist law embodies proletarian will and the protection by proletarian leadership of the broad people's interests and naturally has a class nature.

Socialist law is established on the basis of the socialist public ownership system and moreover serves this basis. It reflects the proletarian will, demands the eradication of all exploitative systems, eliminates traitors, counter-revolutionaries and other criminal elements, firmly supports socialist democracy, protects the people's legal rights, mobilizes all positive factors, and guarantees smooth, complete socialist construction. This is the class nature of socialist law and also is the task of the proletarian dictatorship. From the point of view of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes and punishing criminal elements it is a tool of implementing dictatorship. However, socialist law also functions to protect democracy and the people's rights, so from this aspect it is a tool for implementing democracy.

Socialist law has a class nature and this is the elimination of exploitation and classes. Since the elimination of classes means to be equal socialist law then possesses equality. Both class nature and equality exist within socialist law, the two are the same and there is no contradiction. Lenin said, "Democracy is a national form, a sort of national attitude. Therefore, it is like any nation in that it systematically organizes the use of force on the people. This is one aspect. But from another aspect, it means the formal recognition of the equality of all citizens and recognizes that everyone has equal rights to determine the national system and manage the state." (GUOJIA YU GEMING in LIENING QUANJI Vol 25, p 459) When democracy (equality) and dictatorship exist within a unified national attitude there must be a change from excessive equality for some of the people to equality for all of the people. How then can it be said that laws which are a tool of class repression have no equality?

In a speech titled GUANYU ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO XIANFA CAOAN [ON THE DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA] given in June of 1954 Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The draft of our constitution has both principle and vitality. There basically are two principles -- democratic principles and socialist principles." According to these constitutional principles China has implemented broad ranging people's democracy not only of workers, peasants and intellectuals but also including national bourgeoisie, enlightened gentry among the rich landlords, Nationalist Party soldiers and officers who engaged in uprising and other Chinese nationals, and all of these equally enjoy citizenship rights under the leadership of the proletariat. As for the minority nationality areas, since they were areas of the peasant slave class and were not objects of the dictatorship they have always enjoyed equal citizenship rights. This principle of equality is related to the great democratic united front strategic thinking of the Chinese Communist Party. This democratic united front today includes the workers and patriots within the scope of the even broader revolutionary patriotic united front. Because of our concrete

national situation and the party's correct policies there has been a weakening and reduction of resistance from the exploiting class, obstruction has been transformed into assistance and there is no need to exercise dictatorship over any entire class. Practice is the only standard for testing the truth and after undergoing practice is it implementation of the democratic united front policy that will benefit the nation or is it lifelessly hanging on to a theory of inequality that will benefit the nation? The equality of socialist law is an actual social condition, the manifestation of revolutionary practice and a development of Marxism. It cannot be refuted.

As for legislative practices, in 1954 China promulgated the first constitution, and article one of section three (the whole document consists of 85 articles) stipulates: "The citizens of the People's Republic of China are all equal before the law," which incorporates the general principles of rights and duties of all citizens. After this comes the citizen's rights which incorporates an affirmative statement of all political rights. Except for the article concerning voting rights and candidacy rights there are no "provisos." All of the rules of the constitution naturally are laws. Since the constitution rules that "everyone is equal before the law" how can anyone deny that this is a legal principle. After the proletariat came into power it opposed the bourgeois repression of the minority nationalities and of women and immediately promulgated equality for the minority nationalities and equality of the sexes. These principles were mentioned by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong and moreover they were clearly stated in the Soviet Union constitution in 1936 and in the Chinese constitution. Since equality of the minority nationalities and the sexes are legal principles why isn't equal rights for all citizens also a legal principle?

There are two special regulations concerning voting and candidacy rights. One is that some former landlords and rich peasants have no political rights. The 1954 constitution says, "For a period of time the state laws shall deny political rights to feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists." The 1978 constitution says, "The state laws deny political rights to unreformed landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists." The phrase "for a period of time" has become "unreformed" and among the landlords and rich peasants are a number of enlightened gentry whose political rights were never denied, so obviously this does not refer to an entire class. This is just like Stalin's GUANYU SULIAN XIANFA CAOAN of November 1936 wherein he quoted Lenin's words of 1919, "The Soviet government's denial of voting rights to non-workers and exploiters is not permanent but is temporary and for a limited period of time." Stalin also pointed out, "In 1919 Lenin said that in the not too distant future the Soviet government would realize the benefits of completely unrestricted general voting rights. Please take note -- completely unrestricted." (SIDALIN XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF STALIN] Vol 2, p 417) After Stalin made these remarks the Soviet Union constitution was formally adopted and with completely unrestricted elections.

In China the scope of denial to these various elements is being reduced daily and many people are no longer branded but have had their political rights restored. In 1975 the standing committee of the National People's Congress issued several rulings which gave general pardons to all incarcerated war criminals and former Nationalist Party elements above county and regimental rank and granted them citizenship rights. After the promulgation of the 1978 constitution a rather large number of officials who had "undergone educational reform and demonstrated good behavior" were no longer branded as landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries and bad elements and were granted citizenship rights. After developments in socialist construction are made the proletarian dictatorship becomes more secure and the persons undergoing reform are rehabilitated, perhaps never again to be exploiters to be branded and have their political rights denied them. In this way, except for those violators of the criminal code who have lost their political rights, hasn't the time arrived when there no longer will be anyone whose political rights are denied them by constitutional stipulations? Practice has proven that when the proletariat is already secure in its political power, and when the exploitive system has been eradicated then all those who favor socialism, all those who may not wholeheartedly favor socialism but who do obey the laws and all patriots can be granted equal citizenship rights and this not only does not harm socialist construction but is even beneficial to the revolution and to construction.

As for the differences between the cities and the countryside in the number of representatives from an electoral district this is another matter of an entirely different nature and cannot be used to make claims for any legal principle of class inequality. This is because, first of all, in terms of voting rights the peasants and workers alike have one vote per person. Next, in terms of candidacy rights the peasants are neither denied them nor have stopped using them. The reason for the difference in the number of representatives for the cities and the countryside is that at present China's total population is largely composed of peasants. An example of another election law is that which covers the minority nationalities areas which have an especially small population. The number of representatives is at a lower ratio than for other groups of people. This regulation should not be called a tendency toward inequality for minority nationalities but rather should be called a policy which implements equality for nationalities. This explains how our election laws regulate the selection of representatives for different population ratios and is not class inequality. Anyway, the rural population is not entirely peasants and not all town and city persons are workers. Almost all of the original bourgeois elements and other patriotic people live in cities and they participate in elections just as the workers do. So how can one say that the original bourgeois elements and other patriotic people have a class status superior to that of the peasants?

In his 1954 report titled GUANYU ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO XIANFA CAOANDE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA] Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "Because of the various

actual conditions now found in elections, for a certain period of time we must use legal methods to deny voting and candidacy rights to feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists, must also regulate different per capita proportions of delegates for the city and countryside, implement a multi-grade electoral system and in the basic level elections must also use a system of majority approval. Our electoral system must be gradually improved and after preparations have been completed a general, equal, direct and secret voting system must be implemented." The principle is that all citizens are legally equal and its vitality is that in a concrete situation within a certain time period it is flexible and adaptable and this flexibility permits it to change according to changing conditions. Isn't this a realistic application of Marx-Leninism?

(4) The Question of Equality for Everyone under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Some comrades say that China has a proletarian dictatorship which should be exercised over its targets and that political rights should be denied to these targets. The people and the enemy can never be equal. This naturally is correct. Marxism teaches us that without being subjected to proletarian dictatorship the bourgeoisie cannot be defeated, and there will be no building of socialism and communism. However, to correctly understand the theory of dictatorship it is first necessary to understand the tasks and historical changes of dictatorship.

According to the explanation of Chairman Mao Zedong the first function of proletarian dictatorship is to repress the nation's internal reactionary class, the reactionary faction and the exploitive elements which oppose the socialist revolution and to repress those destructive elements which oppose socialist construction. The second function of dictatorship is to prevent the nation's external enemies from engaging in activities to overthrow the revolution or from staging an invasion. The goal of the revolution is to guarantee that all the people can peacefully engage in their labors and build China into a socialist nation with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science. According to Stalin's explanation a socialist state has three functions. The first is to suppress internal bourgeois opposition, the second is to prevent external invasions and the third is to carry out economic and cultural construction. This is just what Chairman Mao said, although he made socialist construction a goal of proletarian dictatorship and made the two other functions into methods for accomplishing this goal, which is a clearer and more precise explanation. In addition to such negative methods of guaranteeing socialist construction as opposition and destruction by internal and external enemies there also is a positive function in the mobilization of all forces to carry out peaceful construction.

This line of uniting some and opposing others changes according to developments in the revolutionary situation and changes in the class structure. Chairman Mao always divided up the categories of the

people and the enemy according to different countries and the different historical periods in the individual countries. During the periods of socialist revolution and socialist transformation the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, bureaucratic capitalists and other reactionary forces do not accept their defeat and oppose socialist transformation, oppose proletarian dictatorship and plot their restoration by carrying out various revolutionary activities. They must be strongly attacked and fiercely repressed and a violent large-scale class struggle cannot be avoided. At that time the target of proletarian dictatorship, the enemies of the people, will of course be those landlords, rich peasants, bureaucratic capitalists and other anti-revolutionary elements. However, a relatively long period of socialist revolution and socialist transformation has passed and conditions have already changed. Last year Comrade Hua Guofeng presented his analysis at the second session of the Fifth Congress. He said that because the party has adopted a very reasonable policy of which the great majority of people approves, the feudal system and the capitalist exploitative system have already been eradicated, the small-scale production system has been transformed and landlords, rich peasants and bureaucratic capitalists no longer exist. Since these latter groups no longer exist the ranks of the workers have also been enlarged. The new formulation is that intellectuals are workers, bourgeois elements have already been transformed into workers, and the original landlords, rich peasants and bourgeois elements have already been transformed into self-supporting workers. His historical task is fundamentally complete and is the major contribution of the Communist Party and Mao Zedong.

China has now reached a new era of modern socialist construction. The revolution has developed, the situation is the class struggle has changed and the object of the dictatorship has also changed. The system of exploitation has been wiped out and the exploiting class cannot return, which is to say that we have taken a large step toward the final goal of "elimination of classes" and the period of "implementing general elections without any restrictions whatsoever" is within sight. Today there are a number of comrades who still feel that under proletarian dictatorship there is no equality worth mentioning and who take the "legislative class inequalities" as eternal principles. Isn't this entirely without basis and hasn't it turned into target shooting minus the target?

Can we do without proletarian dictatorship whether or not here now is any class struggle? The answer is no. This, first, is because the primary task of proletarian dictatorship is socialist construction. This task is not only incomplete but is even more urgent and has become the focus of work for the party and state. Second, there is no lessening of the task of preventing outside aggression. Because of the strengthening of the socialist-imperialist nations' powers of aggression, our anti-aggression tasks have become more prominent and more important. Third, the internal class struggle still exists to a certain degree and the task of repression has not been completely eliminated. In the present period of building socialist modernization

our society still has counter-revolutionary elements and enemy agents, still has some remnants of the "gang of four" and some unreformed old exploitive elements and still has new exploitive elements who engage in corruption, bribery, speculation and profiteering. They are capable of taking an anti-socialist stance and continuing to engage in activities which oppose and destroy the socialist system and socialist construction. A firm class struggle must be waged against them and it would be a complete error to relax the struggle against them. However, under normal conditions these anti-socialist elements cannot form a class. Therefore, the spearhead of proletarian dictatorship is today not pointed toward any class but rather is pointed toward those few anti-socialist elements, who are such major criminals. This class struggle against these major criminals, whether on a political, economic or ideological level operates entirely according to the law in following the legal processes of investigating to determine the facts and in following the laws to determine what crime has been committed and what the punishment should be.

Our constitution very clearly stipulates the "four resolute" and stipulates that the basic task of the proletarian dictatorship of the state is to "protect the socialist system, repress all rebel and counter-revolutionary activities, punish all traitors and counter-revolutionary elements, punish the new bourgeois elements and all other bad elements," and "protect the socialist revolution and socialist construction." The constitution similarly stipulates the citizen's basic rights and duties, with equality for all, no class restrictions and no special privileges for anyone. Our new criminal code stipulates that for counter-revolutionary crimes, crimes against public safety, destructive crimes against the socialist economic order, crimes against the democratic rights of citizens, financial crimes, crimes against socialist managerial order, crimes against marriage and the family and dereliction of duty there will be punishment of a severity consonant with the seriousness of the crime and no matter what the class status of the criminal the punishment will be determined according to law. The criminal code is an extremely sharp and prominent tool of the dictatorship and one which does not determine punishment according to class status. This clarifies the point that the target of our proletarian dictatorship is serious criminals and what is important is whether or not they have endangered our socialist endeavors, whether or not there is evidence of crime, and not making distinctions based on class status. Dictatorship must be exercised over all major criminals elements and the policy that citizens are "all equal before the law must be implemented. This is the dialectical unity of proletarian dictatorship with the concept "everyone is equal before the law."

Some comrades still feel that for the proletarian dictatorship, in addition to repressing class enemies, there ought to be more equality between the leaders and those led. An example is that although peasants and the bourgeoisie both have the right to participate in the legislative process they have virtually no function in determining policy and law and cannot be on an equal footing with the workers. Such an explanation is entirely incorrect.

We know that in socialist countries proletarian leadership is accomplished through the communist party and that party leadership of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist endeavors has a history of 60 years of true Marxism, and that the party's correct policies and the party members' model actions exercise a leadership function for all the people. Our constitution stipulates that the proletariat is the leadership class and the Chinese Communist Party is the leadership core for the entire nation but it does not stipulate that the proletariat and the party or the workers and the party members have any special privileges. The workers and peasants as well as all other people are of equal status. In politics everyone has voting and candidacy rights and has the right to be chosen as a people's delegate or responsible person in a government organization. All those chosen as delegates have the right to make speeches, offer legislation and make decisions. There are no distinctions such as first and second class delegates and so such distinctions as delegates with or without rights. In our country the only distinction is that of type of labor and there are no distinction of noble or humble people. There are no slaves lower than others or nobles superior to anyone. Cadres of all levels are the people's public servants and their only duty is to earnestly serve the people. They have no special political or economic rights. All party members are equally comrades and fellow warriors and leading party cadres serve the people with an attitude of equality. The secretary of the party committee is on an equal basis with the members of the party committee, the secretary or first secretary should be good at providing a consensus of opinion rather than permitting any single voice to decide issues or the existence of any head-of-household style system. The party organization and party members should have close contacts with the masses, go among the masses, be observed by the masses and not be permitted to rise above the masses. There is complete social equality between the leaders and those led. If there is not true equality between the leaders and those led and the leaders rise one level above people then there certainly will be other levels of privileged people above them, just like the layers of a pagoda. Would there then be any people's democracy or people's rights? Would there then be building of socialist modernization? This explanation of "everyone is equal before the law" is not only totally negative, it also destroys the worker-peasant alliance and democratic unity. It is of great danger and must be opposed.

(5) Several Points of Explanation

All the above explains the the significance of "everyone is equal before the law," opposes privileges and favors democracy. It is equal political rights and an absence of economic inequalities rather than any other sort of equality. After they become legislation and the law stipulates these principles of equality the people must demonstrate the spirit of equality. This sort of equality can be found only in a socialist society which has socialist laws and cannot be found in other societies with other legal systems. It can be completely manifested only with eradication of the exploitive system

and with the elimination of the exploiting class. At that time society will already be without any opposing class, there will be no "class equality," and naturally there will be no "theory of class harmony." Such equality is equality in principle because the concrete problems of each age and each situation produce special conditions, such as in the case of the denial of political rights resulting from criminal offenses, but not denying the principle of legal equality, because equal rights are granted through laws and the denial of political rights is because of individual responsibility in breaking those laws.

Equality in application of the laws is also another type of equality though this is not the basic significance of "everyone is equal before the law" but is to operate according to the law (actually it only means to follow the law in making verdicts). To operate according to the law has no independent significance and has no equality or inequality, it is only that the laws that are followed can produce different results. Only if the content of the laws is equal do they have the potential for equality in application, if the content of the law is unequal there is no possibility of equality. For example, if the law stipulates that some people have special privileges while others do not and that different people receive different punishment for committing the same crime then in the application of the laws there is no equality for all people. If the law says that men deserve respect and women do not, that women should adhere to the three obediences and the four virtues, then observance of such laws will reinforce the inequality of men and women.

We would like to add here that in our last article we said that Marx revealed the stupidity of bourgeois scholars who do not oppose the partiality of the law and yet dream of getting just decisions, to which some comrades responded by saying that was wrong. We now repeat the quote and add a few more points so the people can see how things really are.

Marx said: "If one believes that there can be fair judges under the partiality of the legislators that really is a stupid, unrealistic fantasy. Since the laws are selfish and self-interested what then is the significance of those just and unselfish decisions? The judges can only go along with the expression of the selfishness and self-interest of the laws and give them unconditional support. Under such conditions a just decision is but a formality and embodies no justice. The substance of the decision is already determined by the law. If the legal procedure is ultimately nothing but a vain exercise then this empty formality lacks and independent value." (DILIUJIE LAIJUNSHENG HUIYIDE BIANLUN [THE DEBATE AT THE SIXTH (LAIJUN) PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE] in MAKESI ENGESI QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS] Vol 1, p 178)

Marx very clearly says that the application of the law (a verdict) is but a formality which is subordinate to the substance of the law. The substance of the legislature, judiciary and the laws cannot be

separated from the application of the laws (we extend our thanks to a comrade for this point), even though there still are some bourgeois scholars who do not oppose the partiality of the laws and still have fantasies of just decisions. In illustration of this, we ask if Marx's revelation is not an excellent, fair and accurate criticism of the present-day division of the legislature and the judiciary which then only faces the question of legal equality and ignores legislative equality?

Since the founding of the country the party and the state have had three formal documents which utilized the slogan "everyone is equal before the law." In 1954 the constitution said: "The citizens of the People's Republic of China are all equal before the law," which is the general principle of rights and duties of the citizens. The 1978 public report of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Congress says: "The people are all equal before their own laws," and this is derived from the demands for "developing democracy and strengthening the legal system and "systemizing and legalizing democracy." The 1979 National Day slogans were "everyone is equal before the law" and "everyone is equal before the truth," which opposed anyone monopolizing law and truth and demanded that people equally discuss law and truth and equally obey law and the truth. Although the wording of these three is dissimilar the substance is exactly the same. Some comrades feel that the new formulation "the people are equal before their own laws" emphasizes a legal distinction between the people and citizens, but this is a mistake. Wasn't this matter cleared up 10 months after the party issued the National Day slogans? In his speech on the National Day of the 30th year celebration Comrade Ye Jianying said, "We must advance in improving the party record and the socialist legal system, truly protect the democratic rights of all party members and all citizens and systemize and legalize party democracy and socialist democracy." This is another instance wherein a leader points out the actual significance of "everyone is equal before the law."

As for our legal system right now, it awaits perfection in both the legislative and judicial aspects. What is more important is that some comrades use their status or individual will to implement head-of-household style leadership. They attack and wreck the laws, explain the laws according to their personal feelings, transform the laws, carry out so-called local policies, local laws and systems which are actually unequal, and severely damage socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. We are now explaining and implementing the principle "everyone is equal before the law," increasingly promoting the perfection of our legal system, making it more democratic and more equal, and more strictly operating according to the law to give the law more authority and greater significance.

Everyone is equal before the law is an old problem but it now has new significance, which is how to unite the anti-special privilege meaning found in this statement with the need for giving vent to democracy and strengthening the legal system; how to unite ideological liberation in theory and practice and explain the dialectical

relationship between proletarian dictatorship and socialist legal equality; and how to eliminate ultra-leftism and dogmatism, be realistic, investigate the new conditions, solve the new problems, serve the government even better and serve economic construction. These are important subjects for present-day legal studies and we must strive to carry them out.

"Everyone is equal before the law!" We wish to give vent to democracy, eradicate superstition, suggest a few important legal problems in our current practices, carry out realistic, comradely debates, grasp the truth and correct errors and advance Marxist legal theory. Our views are not necessarily fully developed and we invite criticism from our comrades.

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PARTY AND STATE

EIGHT MEASURES FOR RESTRUCTURING ECONOMY PRAISED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Fang Hua (2455 5478): "China Adopts Eight New Measures To Restructure Its Economy"]

[Text] When Communist China's Vice Premier Yao Yilin made his report to the recently concluded Third Session of China's Fifth National People's Congress on the plans for the national economy this year and next, he expounded the eight measures China was going to adopt in order to restructure its economy:

1. Carry out an overall expansion of enterprise autonomy among state-run industries.
2. Actively organize various forms of economic association.
3. Widely develop competition under the guidance of the state plans.
4. Allow independent management on the part of the banks.
5. Gradually reform the taxation system.
6. Carry out market adjustment under the guidance of the state plans.
7. Continue to restructure the foreign trade control system.
8. Strengthen economic legislation and economic jurisprudence.

These eight measures may be said to be the summing up of the experience of practice in provinces of the interior, such as Sichuan, Anhui, Guangdong, Fujian, and Jiangsu, where the pace of carrying out the restructuring of the economic system has been relatively fast during the past 2 years. The unequivocal proposing of these restructuring measures as the rubric of China's economic policies for the next 2 years was both concrete and clear, and it was welcomed by people in China as well as abroad.

Taking a careful look at these eight restructuring measures, we can see that they symbolize the Chinese Communist Party's great resolve and fortitude for carrying out the four modernizations. Two or three years ago, we should say, the proposing of these eight approaches aimed at reforms of a fundamental nature would have been unimaginable. The content of these few economic reforms has broken through certain taboo areas, transcended the conventions imposed upon the economic arena during the past 30 years, and daringly adopted entirely new approaches. Insofar as the Chinese Communist Party is concerned, this really amounts to a revolution--a revolution with the most earth-shaking power in the economic arena since the founding of the Chinese state. In the attempt to accelerate the four modernizations, these reforms are entirely necessary.

"Speed" Is Reflected

These eight economic reforms first of all reflect "speed": It is imperative to tightly grasp the time factor in order to develop the Chinese model of a socialist economy with greater speed, and thereby to enable China's relatively backward economy to achieve a breakthrough in a relatively short period and hence reach the takeoff point for economic development.

Practice is the only criterion for testing truth. Practice during the past 30 years proves that the economic management system enforced by the Chinese Communists in the past is no longer suitable to the developmental needs of this economy in China's present society; at least it does not demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economic system. There is reason to believe that this is basically because the policies relating to transformation of ownership were carried out too hastily after China's liberation. The old China before liberation was a semifeudal, semicolonial society with a small-farm economy as its mainstay. After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the Chinese revolution instantly turned from a new democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and the country began to carry out agricultural cooperativization, industrial cooperativization, and public-private joint management of capitalist industry and commerce, which was shortly further turned into pure public management. Leaping from a semifeudal, semicolonial society to a socialist society, China did not pass the stage of capitalist society. From the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, it looks as though the country did not need to pass through this stage of capitalist society. Precisely because of this, however, the speed of the fundamental transformation of ownership was far greater than that of the development of backward productive forces, whereupon a gap was created. That is to say, the productive forces fell behind their production relations, and they became mutually incongruous. Under such circumstances, economic measures more suited to the actual conditions of the time should have been put forward to allow the existence of a certain individual economy, and even methods colored by capitalist economy should have been adopted as transitional measures of expediency. The pity was that, after the antirightist campaign of 1957, Chinese Communist policies, including economic policies, became more and more leftist; the leftist wind blew harder and harder, with the result that, by the time of the "Cultural Revolution," it reached the unprecedented No 10 wind-warning signal and wiped all those relatively practical approaches away. This serves to explain why, 30 years after the founding of Communist China, the speed of its economic development has fallen far behind that of the two defeated states, West Germany and Japan.

In the past, especially during the 10-year Cultural Revolution, any doubts about or attempts to reform the existing system would have been unforgivable and inevitably taken as a case of "capitalist restoration," "revisionism," or even "counterrevolution." The fact that some Liu Shaoqi's relatively mild measures, such as the "three-self and one fix policy," etc., were ruthlessly deprecated as "capitalistic" is a typical example. This economic system of 30 years standing thus to have become a taboo area which nobody was supposed to touch. After the overthrow of the "gang of four," the higher leadership level of the Chinese Communist Party began to sense the seriousness of this problem: such an excessively leftist, unbending economic management system could only become a stumbling block. It is was pushed forward without change, they would have had to follow past steps

and proved into a blind alley. Three or four years ago the Chinese Communists, beginning with trade, started experimenting with certain reform measures, such as "combination of industry and trade," "combination of production and sales," etc., in the hope of promoting enterprise productivity. Looked at from today's standards, these reforms could only be termed most elementary, but at that time they represented great progress and even proved to be meritorious enough to amuse the deaf and the blind. In foreign trade, they first brought forth conventional practices in trade long followed by people in the outside world, such as "processing imported materials and imported samples," "assembling imported parts," "ordering goods by their brand names," etc. These methods, which were customary in other countries and areas, led to great commotion in the trade departments in the interior; at the time, reporters at the Canton trade fair even devoted long pages to such news reports and special interviews. Chinese and foreign businessmen also were extremely pleased, thinking that China's trade had somehow finally become more flexible. But these measures were only superficial and secondary; they were far removed from economic reforms. Among the high-level leaders of the Chinese Communists at the time, there were still certain people who worried quite a bit and who dared not touch upon certain questions of a fundamental nature; this affected the progress of economic reform.

Still fresh in this writer's memory was the fact that in the later half of 1978, the Chinese Communists began to relax a little in the restructuring of their foreign trade management system, promulgating several flexible modes of trade such as compensatory trade and others. Shortly thereafter, it was reported that it was possible for China to proceed with joint ventures and to welcome Chinese and foreign businessmen to invest and build factories in China. At that time, this news was most stimulating to Chinese and foreign businessmen, who regarded it as a harbinger of relaxation of Chinese policies, because joint ventures and the capital of capitalists obtaining a legitimate status for operations in China constituted a sensitive question--a question touching upon exploitation. Looking back now, general negotiations have already begun in the interior regarding joint ventures or even purely foreign ventures; they are no longer any sensational news. Ten years ago, however, such negotiations would have seemed "out of the ordinary." It has become known that the official who first revealed this news to reporters was later subjected to great pressure and criticism, so that when he saw reporters again, he would turn away. This shows that at that time many problems were still not solved in the execution of economic policies, and that the conventions and taboo areas in people's thinking could still not be broken. Because of these reasons, China's economic development during the 3 or 4 years immediately after the overthrow of the "gang of four" did not turn out to be ideal. People overseas were disappointed, and the four modernizations seemed remote. Witnessing this situation, the Chinese Communists made up their minds to institute a fundamental reform. Beginning last year, they developed experimental areas in many provinces and municipalities for carrying out certain daring methods of economic reform. According to reports, there were about 6,000 experimental areas connected with the restructuring of the economic system throughout the country the first half of this year; they made up 43.5 percent of the output value of enterprises owned by all the people. From now on, they [Chinese Communists] are going to accelerate the process of restructuring the economic/management system on the basis of these experimental areas develop their strongpoints, protect competition, promote association, and mobilize enthusiasm in all aspects, with a view of speeding up and speeding up still more in order to obtain economic results as soon as possible.

Economic Competition, Chinese Style

Secondly, the eight economic reform measures have broken through certain taboos and paved the way for China to develop the Chinese model of socialist economy from now on. This writer is of the opinion that, in this regard, the most interesting is the third measure of reform: "Widely develop competition under the guidance of the state plans."

In the past, competition was invariably taken as a capitalist gimmick; in reality, competition is one of the economic laws of capitalism. Marxist economic theory holds that competition, the anarchical state of production, and the absolute impoverishment of the working class are the laws by which capitalist production relations exist, whereas under the socialist system, along with the disappearance of such capitalist production relations, these laws disappear from the economic process. Marx did not go into any detail as to whether or not there can be different kinds of competition. Competition under capitalist production relations is free competition. Its ultimate goal is to seize the sales markets, the sources of raw materials, and the places for investment in order to control the production and sale of commodities, and it ultimately develops into monopoly. Therefore, free competition is reflected in the anarchical state of production, and it is drastically destructive. Viewed from its essential purpose, China's championing of the protection of competition today is altogether different from that of free competition under capitalism. What China has brought forth is competition under the guidance of the state plans; that is to say, the competition and development of the enterprises are included in the state's economic plans, and they constitute a component part of the development of the national economy. For this reason, such competition is planned, is proportionate, and as a result cannot lead to blind production or blind development. Hence it is both positive and constructive.

Because of competition, there are bound to be the good and the bad; if measured by the law of free competition under capitalism, the fittest would survive. In the final analysis, there are but two outlets for bad enterprises: bankruptcy, or absorption by the triumphant ones. Under such circumstances, monopoly gradually results. The outcome of competition in China looks similar to that of free competition--that is, the good ones develop and the bad ones become reorganized, with those enterprises which turned out to be inferior in competition and which foresee no future in their development being merged into those enterprises which triumphed in the competition, and with some of the former being converted to other lines of production, such as the production of parts for those enterprises that have strong competitive capability. The fit survive; the unfit are eliminated: this is the inevitable law of competition. But under conditions of socialism, elimination should be "reorganization" under the guidance of the state plans. The forms of reorganization cannot depart from the following three kinds: (1) annexation; (2) combination; (3) conversion to other lines of production. Also, in stressing competition, China wishes to promote the spirit of socialist cooperation and to develop technical exchanges. Although enterprises assume the status of rivals in competition, they share the same goals and they all serve socialism. Hence, matters of mutual cooperation and mutual support still exist. This is what free competition lacks.

Generally speaking, socialist competition means that under the uniform planning and guidance of the state, and on the basis of developing the national economy and

production, various enterprises compete among themselves and compare their economic results. Their purposefulness is consistent, and there is no such phenomenon as endlessly struggling to annex one another, as exists among capitalist enterprises.

Expansion of Enterprise Autonomy

Thirdly, the eight reforms generally exhibit a dedication to the spirit of democracy. The Third Session of China's Fifth National People's Congress fully stressed democracy; it proposed to build a modern China with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization. The reform of the political system gave scope to democracy; the reform of the economic system was also permeated with the spirit of democracy.

In the past, the old economic system, like the political system, was one of centralized authority. The central government directly ordered local governments to carry out various economic activities, and the opinions of local governments could hardly affect the overall situation. In other words, the control was too rigid, and the whole economic management system operated like an iron board, both inflexible and stiff. But today the eight measures exude an atmosphere of democracy in general.

The quintessence of economic reform is expansion of enterprise autonomy. Although the enterprises are still under the guidance of the state plans, with regard to their own personnel, finances, resources, production, supplies, and sales they now enjoy far greater autonomy than in the past. The atmosphere of democracy is reflected in three aspects of enterprise management. The first is the relationship between the enterprise, under the condition that it assure the fulfillment of the task of supplying goods as prescribed by the state, may arrange its production plans or take on obligations of cooperation according to market needs, and, in addition to the resources provided by the state according to existing plans, it may buy the materials it needs according to the principle of securing the best. That is to say, in the conversations between the enterprise and the central authorities from now on, there really can be a mutual addressing of points with each other. The practical, developmental needs of the enterprise itself are respected, and the enthusiasm of the enterprise hence becomes elevated. The second is the relationship between the enterprise and the outside world. In the past, an enterprise could not deal with a foreign concern independently; everything had to be done under the guidance of the leading organ at the higher level. Today, a large enterprise and its associated bodies, upon approval, may begin to experiment with direct management of foreign trade. The establishment of general trading companies in various provinces and municipalities for the sake of developing their foreign trade is also a reflection of this measure. The third is the enterprise's internal relations. In the past, the party committee secretary ruled supreme within the enterprise; the secretary became the reincarnation of the party committee and of the party itself. Only what he said would count, and he would follow a patriarchal system under which ordinary workers and or even cadres would have no right to express any opinions. The enterprise became the party committee secretary's enterprise. Whether management of the enterprise entailed gains or losses, and whether it was good or bad, nobody had any right to interfere. Now it is prescribed that each enterprise and establishment must install a congress of staff and workers or a staff and worker representative assembly. Members of

such congress or assembly have the right to make decisions on important questions of their own unit, to recommend to the superior level the recall of incompetent administrative leading personnel of their unit, and to elect step by step the leading personnel in the appropriate categories.

The establishment of these congresses of staff and workers or staff and worker representative assemblies serves the same function as Yugoslavia's workers' committees. Insofar as China is concerned, the establishment of these congresses and assemblies is an unprecedented, refreshing event that represents the approach of the Chinese Communist Party in making up its mind to carry out democracy. On this point, it has enabled the Chinese workers to really realize the spirit of becoming masters of their own house.

Guiding Economic Activities by Economic Means

In the fourth aspect we see reflected the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has begun to realize that the guiding of economic activities by political means in the past was a failure; the six [as published] reforms indicate that the Chinese Communist Party now has made up its mind to guide economic activities by economic means, to respect objective economic laws, and to stress economic results.

The second of these reforms clearly suggests that an enterprise must establish independent accounting and cannot "eat from the common pot." The practice of letting an enterprise "establish independent accounting, allow the state to collect pertinent taxes, and take the responsibility for its own gains and losses" has actually been promoted at certain experimental places for some time, and has been done effectively. The light industrial machinery company of Shanghai, for example, has had a good taste of this practice while experimenting with it; it has proved far more effective than in the past, when [the company] knew only how to carry out the plans assigned by the higher level. Under this [new] practice the 40 enterprises within the jurisdiction of this company reportedly see to it that their staff and workers do the best they can to open up new avenues of production, increase products suitable for consumption beyond given plans, calculate meticulously everywhere, augment their income, and cut down their expenses. In a short period of time a conspicuous change has taken place within the entire company: the profits and tax monies realized between January and July this year turned out to be more than 70 percent higher than those of the corresponding period last year. The result is that the state collected more taxes, the enterprise retained more profits, and the staff and workers made great gains.

The fifth of these reforms--gradually reforming the taxation system--is meant to encourage the enterprises to run their affairs according to economic laws by making use of the economic means of taxation.

To guide the enterprises to develop by the economic means of profits, taxation, pricing, credit loans, etc., is to be China's approach to enterprise management from now on.

The eight economic reforms will be the norms of China's economic activities for a fairly long period. But these constitute merely a beginning. In order to reverse

China's backward economic outlook even faster, many problems remain to be explored and solved. We can definitely say that the evolution of the country's economic system will continue to deepen in the years ahead, that new measures of reform are bound to be put forward, and that all reforms are going to be tested in practice, just like the case of the eight economic reforms today; they are ultimately elevated to the level of policy measures and promoted in practice across the country only after they are proved, through 1 or 2 years or an even longer period of practice, to be genuinely suitable to China's economic development today.

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PARTY AND STATE

MALFEASANCE OF CADRES, NEED FOR DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED

Leading Cadres Disciplined

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[News report: "The Secretary of the Party Committee of Yuanchengmai County, Wang Yueqing [3769 1471 7230], Is Removed From Office"]

[Text] The party has taken disciplinary action against three county-level leading cadres for violating party discipline, for abusing their authorities, for building luxurious residences for their private use at the government expense, and for resettling a large number of rural households in urban areas in violation of the related policy. They are Wang Yueqing, secretary and chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; Zeng Xiangji [2582 4382 6549], deputy secretary and vice chairman of the county party and revolutionary committees; and Wu Xianming [0702 7359 2494], former standing committee member and vice chairman of the county party and revolutionary committees. Wang Yueqing has been removed from his office as secretary of the county party committee, while Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming have been reprimanded by the party for committing the aforementioned mistakes.

This disciplinary action was initiated by the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee and taken by the Guangdong Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission with the approval of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee.

Wang Yueqing and two other comrades originally lived in comfortable government-provided houses with floor space ranging from 80 to 130 square meters of land, with which they were still not satisfied. In October 1978 they began to dream of building more luxurious homes for their families. To translate that dream into reality, they selected 42.49 mu of land located in Zhongzhai brigade of Chengcheng commune as sites for building their new homes under the pretext of housing projects for city dwellers and retired old cadres. In compensation for the land acquired, they promised to reduce the Zhongzhai brigade's annual grain taxes by 41,052 jin. Of the 42.49 mu of land, 339.56 square meters of land went to Wang Yueqing, who later built a 20,800 yuan home covering 228.17 square meters in floor space; 328.9 square meters of land went to Zeng Xiangji, who constructed a home occupying a floor space of 157.55 square meters at a cost of 14,000 yuan; and 387.79 square meters of land went to Wu Xianming, who spent 24,000 yuan building a home covering 254.8 square meters in floor space.

Wang Yueqing and two other comrades also obtained, free of charge, enormous amounts of building materials, and manpower from factories, communes, state farms and other government organizations, along with motor vehicles which were used to move materials to the sites where their cozy nests were under construction. When motor vehicles were used to move building materials, they paid only for their gasoline costs.

When they acquired the public land and construction got underway, the general office of the provincial revolutionary committee and the Hainan Prefectural Revolutionary Committee sternly warned them against building private homes in real estate of public ownership. Responsible comrades of the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee also repeatedly dissuaded them from building private homes on public land in violation of the related government policy.

After receiving instructions from the higher authorities or leading groups, they ordered the county revolutionary committee to issue a circular to cadres at the bureau chief and higher levels advising them to stop building private homes on public land, while stepping up the construction of their own homes in gross disregard of the government policy. Their attitude toward the instructions from the higher authorities was actually one of overt compliance and covert opposition.

In an attempt to obtain adequate building materials, and manpower for building their projected homes, Wang Yueqing, Zeng Xiangji and Wu Xianming abused their authorities by approving a migration of a sizable agricultural population from the countryside to the urban areas in violation of the State Council's and Guangdong Province's household migration policy. They also promised to provide the new urban settlers with free food grains in exchange for their labor needed for the construction of their homes. From January 1978 to August 1979, they approved a transfer of 135 rural households or 455 persons to the urban areas. Under their influence, other leading cadres in Chengmai County also followed suit by giving similar approval to the migration of a large number of households from rural to urban areas in violation of the government's longstanding policy. According to incomplete statistics, they approved the requests of 738 rural households or 2,104 persons for resettlement in urban areas from January 1978 to August 1979, along with applications for food rationing. The overwhelming majority of them moved into the city through back door deals in violation of the related policy.

In order to teach Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices a lesson, and to educate other comrades in strictly observing party discipline and in rectifying the party's workstyle, the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee has decided to confiscate the newly built homes and turn them over to the government real estate management department as part of public property, in addition to taking appropriate disciplinary action against the aforementioned three comrades. Their construction costs will be reimbursed on the basis of actual estimation. The cases of those rural people who have been permitted to settle in the urban areas and have since become workers entitled to the food rationing in violation of the related policy will be seriously and properly handled by the authorities concerned in accordance with the related regulations put into effect by the central and provincial authorities.

Need for Party Discipline

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Enforce Party Discipline, Strengthen the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial Party Committee has taken disciplinary action against three leading comrades for violating the law and discipline, for abusing power and for promoting bad workstyles. The three are Wang Yueqing [3769 1471 7230], secretary and chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; Zeng Xiangji [2582 4382 6549], deputy secretary and vice chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees; and Wu Xianming [0702 7359 2494], former standing committee member and vice chairman of the Yuanchengmai County Party and Revolutionary committees. That disciplinary action taken by the party against them was absolutely necessary and correct. We hope that the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" will be more thoroughly implemented, the party's workstyle will be further improved, party discipline will be more strictly observed and the leading groups of the party committees at all levels will be further strengthened as a result of the official announcement of that disciplinary action.

In addition to betraying the interests of the state and people, undermining the party's fine workstyle, and dampening the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for promoting the four modernizations, Wang Yueqing and two other comrades have caused otherwise unnecessary damage to the cause of the party. Their mistakes are so serious that they deserve the great attention of our party cadres, especially those leading cadres.

As the vanguard of the proletariat, our party requires that all its members devote the rest of their lives to serving the people's interests, and they should never try to seek any privileges to enhance their private interest. Clearly, this fundamental requirement was disregarded by Wang Yueqing and two other comrades when they decided to build more luxurious homes for themselves, with floor space ranging from 200 to 300 square meters. They originally lived in homes with floor space ranging from 80 to 130 square meters, living conditions which were far superior to housing units occupied by the masses. To satisfy their insatiable desires, they abused their authorities so that they could acquire public land, building materials, motor vehicles, manpower and everything else they needed in building their new homes free of charge. They even unscrupulously and illegally approved the migration of households from the rural to urban areas and their requests for food rationing in exchange for their services and building material needed in construction of their homes. This fraud reminds us that if every communist party member or party leading cadre is unaware of his responsibility as the people's servant, and pays no attention to their interests and plight, and if he cares only about his own comfortable life, he may be unable to resist the temptation to use his authority to enhance his private interest at the expense of the public interest in violation of party discipline and in betrayal of the public trust. For this reason, we must guard against the erosive influence of the bourgeois ideas and feudal ideologies and foster a world outlook of whole-hearted dedication to the people's interests.

Communist party members must strive to increase their awareness of the need to foster strong party character and strictly observe party discipline as a guarantee for a correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and as an insurance against committing mistakes. As leading members on the county party committee, Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices were well aware of the regulations governing the construction of housing projects on public land issued by the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee long ago, as well as the policies of the State Council and other central authorities concerning the resettlement of agricultural households in the cities, the rationing of food grains and the recruiting of workers. As leading cadres, they should have acted as models in implementing these policies and regulations. On the contrary, blinded by the lust for private gains, they have deliberately violated these policies and regulations, and thrown them into wastebaskets along with party discipline in order to build some cozy nests for themselves. When the Hainan Prefectural Party Committee tried to stop them after their wrongdoing came to its attention, they adopted a double-dealing attitude by promising to obey its order in public but continuing their malpractice in private. Finally, their lust for private gains led them to commit more mistakes in violation of the laws. Believing that "bureaucrats are interested in protecting one another," Wang Yueqing and his two accomplices divided their newly acquired land and property up among themselves and others associated with them on the basis of their ranks, by way of dirty back door deals. They did so on the assumption that since "all partners have a fair share of the property," they would do their utmost to protect their common interests that they have secured. Nonetheless, they terribly underestimated the ability of ordinary cadres and the masses to expose their back door deals. Their "partnership for mutual protection" eventually went broke when the cadres and the masses armed with the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" strove to expose their back door deals to the public. Facts show that party members or leading cadres cannot avoid making mistakes and cannot correct their errors unless they consciously welcome inspection and admonition from the higher level party organizations and the party discipline inspection commissions, and accept criticism and supervision from the masses.

Since the proclamation of the "guiding principles," party organizations at all levels throughout the province have made great efforts to strengthen party discipline and improve the party's workstyle. But this marks only the first step forward during a long march. We must realize that malfeasance still exists in varying degrees in many localities and units; the fact that authorities were abused by leading members on the Chengmai County Party Committee to build their new homes and to approve the migration of households from rural to urban areas in violation of the related policy is not an isolated case which deserves the great attention of party committees and leading cadres at all levels. To avoid similar mistakes, we must check our ideas and workstyle against the "guiding principles" ignored by the three erring principal leading cadres on the Yuancheng County Party Committee, consciously draw lessons from our past experiences, strengthen party character and our sense of organization and discipline, eliminate the influence of the feudal system in which cadres are granted privileges, and voluntarily accept supervision from the masses. Only in this way can we resolutely wipe out all forms of malpractice and make ourselves qualified communist party members.

PARTY AND STATE

INSTITUTE OF MICROBIOLOGY ACCUSED OF DEFAMING RESEARCHER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 4

[Letter to the Editor from Yang Mo [2799 3106]: "This Instance Occurred Today as China Is Marching Toward the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Dear editor-comrades:

I want to reflect to you a serious instance of retaliatory attacks against a scientific researcher with an intent to discredit his work.

It occurred when I spent the winter of 1978 in Tianjin doing some writing and building a friendship with Comrade Liu Yaguang [0491 0068 0342], a researcher of the Institute of Microbiology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. We lived in the same guest house when he was on a lecture and scientific experimental tour at the Tianjin Public Health Bureau's request. He spent day and night working diligently on a project aimed at combining advanced science--microbiology with herb medicine. I was deeply moved by his hard working spirit. One day in that winter, I suddenly received an unexpected long-distance telephone call from one of my relatives. He did so at the urging of someone working at the Institute of Microbiology who was aware of my growing friendship with Liu Yaguang. The caller relayed a message accusing Liu Yaguang of being a "swindler trying to deceive people everywhere," and imploring me to alert the departments concerned in Tianjin not to be fooled by Liu Yaguang any more. The caller also revealed that the Institute of Microbiology was withholding his salary for the reason of misconduct. Although I was surprised to hear this, I did not act as "instructed" by the caller. From that day on, I began to watch Liu Yaguang more closely than ever in order to satisfy my curiosity and fulfill my responsibility to the people. To get a deeper insight into the significance of Liu Yaguang's research project and his personality, I later visited some leading members of various Tianjin public health centers and hospitals, and his associates at the Institute of Microbiology. They unanimously told me that his advanced scientific research work is valuable, from which they themselves have also benefited. None of them thought that he has ever done anything wrong. Nor did anyone accuse him of being a "swindler." On the basis of this investigation, I can say for sure that Liu Yaguang is a young and resourceful scientific researcher wholeheartedly devoted to the four modernizations. Later, I continued to investigate his activities when I was in Beijing and Zhejiang. I ended almost a year-long investigation with literary reportage entitled "He is that kind of person," an article that appeared in ZHEJIANG RIBAO of 25 December 1979. In that article, I emphasized the significance

of his scientific research work, his efforts to overcome innumerable difficulties in scientific research, and his hard working spirit. At the same time, I criticized the Institute of Microbiology without mentioning its name for suppressing and attacking Liu Yaguang, for falsely accusing him of being a "swindler" and "politically unreliable," and for unreasonably withholding his salary. Upon learning of this criticism, its leading members flew into a rage and retaliated by printing and circulating in the name of their organization a message to the nation (in three installments), attacking my literary reportage as a challenge to the scientific circles and charging me with "misleading the central authorities, deceiving the masses and spreading rumors and slanders" for which they hold me legally responsible. The message also falsely accused Liu Yaguang of being a "swindler" and "trumpeter," and calling his experiment with the Chinese medical nostrum aimed at "resuscitating the muscle of the heart" a "fraud." This message has had the effect of vicious slander on the nation. Is there any truth to such charges? I have learned that since Liu Yaguang's transfer to the Microbiological Medical Research Institute affiliated with the Zhejiang College of Chinese Medicine, his innovative research work has commanded the attention of the Ministry of Public Health and the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government, which submitted a joint report on his work to the Party Central Committee and the State Council with a suggestion that funds be earmarked in support of his research. In response to this suggestion, the State Council has provided funds for the purchase of equipment for the Microbiological Medical Research Institute after Liu Yaguang achieved a breakthrough in research in controlling cardiovascular disease. At the same time, his published essays have also received commendations from the medical circles at home and abroad. For example, he has received a letter from an American professor inviting him to give lectures in the United States. In that letter, the American professor said: "We earnestly look forward to directly learning from your outstanding work on Chinese medicine and especially your technical application of microbiological pharmacology. We consider your work most outstanding of all, comparing with a few other systematically organized studies in this field." He has also received letters from a number of colleges in Japan, inviting him to visit Japan to explore the possibility of his cooperation with them. A biochemist with doctoral degrees from Hong Kong recently came to Hangzhou to confer with Liu Yaguang on the prospect of their cooperation in research and in jointly publishing books.

A nationally and internationally known Chinese language publication recently carried an article written by someone in the assumed name of Shi Xiyuan [4258 1585 0337] pouring cold water on this meaningful research work. This article spreads rumors that Liu Yaguang's "heart resuscitation" experiment is a fraud, and his statistical estimation based on it means nothing as a result of his misuse of the labeled isotopes. As a matter of fact, this charge is unfounded, because Shi Xiyuan based his article neither on experiments nor on any investigation of laboratories associated with Liu Yaguang. The Hospital No 262 Laboratory where Liu Yaguang worked revealed that over 7,000 guinea pigs and over 200 rabbits have been used in this experiment which has provided the medical profession with a large amount of reliable information; only one right kind of labeled isotopes has been used in the experiment; the information resulting from this experiment has been checked out and endorsed by related medical authorities at the request of the Beijing Military Region's health department. In addition, Liu Yaguang has made public the outcome of his experiment in an article published by a medical journal with the blessing of the Hospital No 262.

In addition to the "heart resuscitation" experiment, Liu Yaguang has adopted the same experimental method to check out the effectiveness of another ancient Chinese medical nostrum in reviving the muscles of the heart. The outcome of this scientific experiment was also verified last March by a group of 11 associated professors headed by Professor Zhang Yi (1928-2015), honorary chairman of the All-China Society of Pharmacology, at the request of the Chinese Medical Bureau of the Ministry of Public Health. In their joint statement, the 11 professors said: "Applying the advanced microbiological technology to study the effectiveness of the Chinese medical nostrum in resuscitating the muscle of the heart is an advanced and correct method, which has come up with convincing results. The nostrum called 'heart revival liquid' can speed up the chemical process of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) after the muscle of the heart is deprived of oxygen supply and damaged. Such results are good news to patients suffering from the hardening or blocking of the coronary arteries, and a contribution to the research project for controlling the cardiovascular disease." Not long ago, a study group of specialists and cadres organized by the Zhejiang Provincial Scientific and Technological Committee also agreed through discussion that this experimental method is scientifically sound. In view of this, I feel that if the Institute of Microbiology disagreed with this experimental method and related essays, it can feel free to make its opinions known in various medical publications. Unfortunately, it did not take this course. In addition to disseminating slanders against Liu Yaguang, it recently published a big-character-type article in an ordinary journal with the aim of misleading the general public. More absurd is that Shi Xiyuan's article likens ordinary scientific researcher Liu Yaguang to the Soviet Union's Lisechko, drawing a parallel between our central authorities' support of Liu Yaguang and Stalin's support of Lisechko. More intolerable is that in addition to disseminating misleading information on Liu Yaguang, a leading comrade of the Institute of Microbiology has talked some newspapers and journals into rejecting all articles written by me and other comrades who want to present to the public a true picture of the aforementioned experiments. This suppression of different opinions occurred at a time when the need is being emphasized to strengthen democracy and the legal system in our country, in the wake of the downfall of the "gang of four." Can we call this a flagrant violation of the citizens' right to discuss science and art in a democratic way? As a deputy to the People's Congress conscious of my responsibility to the people, I presented to the public that literary reportage on the four modernizations only in the capacity of a conscientious writer. It is contrary to my wishes that the publication of that literary reportage would drive Shi Xiyuan and other people of the Institute of Microbiology to launch fiercer attacks against Liu Yaguang and to go all out to defame him as an individual and to distort his experiments, thus creating numerous difficulties for the modernization of scientific research in herb medicine. As a result of the publication of my article, I have also been subjected to a series of criticisms and even have been forced to shut my mouth, depriving me of the right to openly answer their charges. This has occurred at a time when our country is embarking on a march toward the four modernizations. I think that this is a serious violation of the democratic rights. For this reason, I implore HENMIAI HIBAO to support the victims of this violation. I also hope that the Ministry of Justice and other related departments will conscientiously initiate an investigation into this case, and will mete out necessary punishment to those found guilty of deception, reprisals for personal reasons and undermining the scientific research work, in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws.

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PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG PARTY OFFICIALS CENSURED FOR EXTRAVAGANCE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Infringing on the Interests of the Masses Is Absolutely Forbidden; the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline Has Taken Strict Action Regarding the Extravagant Eating and Drinking of the Group for Conveying Greetings and Appreciation on the Old Liberated Areas of Leqing County, Ordering the Responsible Leaders of the County Party Committee to Make an In-Depth Criticism and Instructing the People Involved To Return Expenses Incurred in Violation of the Guiding Principles"]

[Text] In order to flaunt its style, the Leqing County group sent to convey greetings and appreciation had many banquets during its tour. The eating and drinking wasted a large sum of national and collective assets. The masses expressed a lot of criticism about this kind of behavior, which disregarded the party Central Committee's repeated orders, infringed upon the masses' interests, and violated the "Guiding Principles." Recently, the provincial commission for inspection of discipline undertook an investigation and took the following strict action: The Leqing County Party Committee was instructed to follow the "Guiding Principles" and make serious conclusions on their experience and lessons, and leaders concerned were instructed to make a public criticism. Public funds that were used by the committee leaders for entertainment should be repaid, in line with the principle of "the one who initiates the idea should pay for it." Members of the group for conveying greetings and appreciation and nonproduction cadres of the communes who participated in the eating and drinking should repay their share of the cost, and the excessive allowance received in violation of regulations must be returned.

In April of this year, Leqing County organized a group for conveying greetings and appreciation for the old liberated areas. It was led by three members of the Standing Committee of the county party committee, and 30 people of the departments, committees, offices and bureaus concerned took part. From 17 April to 6 May, they went to 34 communes and production teams in the old revolutionary districts to undertake consolation. Wherever the group for conveying greetings and appreciation went, the majority of communes and production teams mobilized cadres and the masses to welcome them. Public funds were used and people were sent especially to buy liquor, food, candy, and cigarettes, etc, in order to set up banquets to entertain them. Everywhere they went, they ate and drank with cadres and caused financial and material waste. Statistics from Chennan

and 4 other communes alone showed that over 1,000 yuan was spent. On 17 April, the group for conveying greetings and appreciation, some cadres, and over 30 representatives ate lunch and dinner at a production team in Chennan Commune. There were eight tables; desserts and cigarettes were also consumed. The total cost was 229.40 yuan, averaging over 7 yuan per person, but members of the group for conveying greetings and appreciation donated only 1 yuan per person. The excess 218.40 yuan was paid out of the production team's common reserve fund. On 24 April, the group for conveying greetings and appreciation and cadres of communes and production teams, totaling over 50 people, ate lunch and dinner at another commune. There were 8 tables and the total cost was 203.10 yuan. The group for conveying greetings and appreciation did not pay a penny; the entire cost was covered by the production team. In order to flaunt their style and extravagance, they violated the financial system, arbitrarily used public funds to buy radios with cassette recorders, expensive liquor, cigarettes, and candy, and to make group flags, streamers, and badges. They also arbitrarily raised the group members' food allowance from 0.80 to 1 yuan. The excess expenditure was 1,535.54 yuan. Besides, this consolation was undertaken during the busiest spring plowing season. Many commune cadres were busy attending meetings, studying the selection of representatives, sending people to put up posters, buying goods, and organizing welcoming groups; therefore, production was affected. To make matters worse, all this was done when some of the people of the old liberated areas were enduring unusual hardships. For example, Sidi Commune suffered drought last year, and in order to alleviate the masses' hardship, the state had granted relief food and funds. Its individual production teams did not even have money for school windows and desks. When the group for conveying greetings and appreciation came to this commune on 26 April, it had neither money nor food, so it borrowed 90 yuan from the credit coop's mountain highway construction funds and 10 yuan from office funds to pay for the eating and drinking expenses of over 80 people. The masses were extremely displeased with this kind of behavior, which ignored the masses' hardships and infringed upon the commune members' laboring income and collective interests. They even called the group for conveying greetings and appreciation "eating and drinking group" and "trouble group"; some also asked: "Is this group for conveying greetings and appreciation consoling us people of the old liberated areas, or are we people of the old districts consoling them?"

After this incident, the Disciplinary Committee of the Leqing County Party Committee followed the advice of the provincial and district disciplinary committees and undertook an investigation. It had made reports to the county party committee. At the beginning, the county party committee did not have a sufficient understanding of this problem, and some of its comrades did not have a correct attitude, so the problem was postponed and not handled. Recently, after the provincial committee for inspection of discipline issued its opinion on the handling of this problem, and with the instruction and help of the district committee, the Party Committee of Leqing County stated that it would undertake measures to rectify this improper practice.

PARTY AND STATE

REVOLUTIONARY COURAGE, REALISTIC WORKING SPIRIT URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Tan Tian (6223 1131): "Combining Revolutionary Courage With a Realistic Working Spirit"]

[Text] Stalin pointed out that there are two special characteristics of the Leninist work style, "1, the Russian revolutionary courage, and 2, the American realistic spirit." He said, "The Leninist work style is simply the combination of these two special characteristics in party and national work." This combination is one excellent traditional work style formed by our party through long revolutionary struggles. It heightened the fighting capacity of our party. It is essential to restore this excellent tradition and work style. The combining of revolutionary courage and realistic working spirit is the unification of the class nature of the proletariat and objectivity, the unification of theory and practice. We of the Communist Party firmly believe in the dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and are dyed-in-the-wool idealists who are afraid of nothing. This fearless spirit is one kind of revolutionary courage. Materialism is "from the object to awareness to thought," it is everything starting out from objective reality. This naturally demands a scientific attitude of a realistic working spirit. When speaking of what revolutionary courage was, Stalin said, "Revolutionary courage is a force that moves men's hearts, it stimulates thought, launches advances, destroys old things, and opens new frontiers." If we have revolutionary courage, in the field of revolution and reconstruction, especially when coping with major turns of events, or when we meet seriously difficulties or set-backs, we will be able to be farsighted, we will have heroic proletarian spirit, will be confident of success in the future and we will dare to make firm decisions for the people. What is a realistic working style: It is seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong explained: "Facts are everything that exists objectively truth is the internal connections of objective things, seeking is to investigate." Simply stated, it is to begin from reality and work from objective laws. To combine revolutionary courage and a realistic working spirit is the embodiment of the party spirit of the proletariat. The proletarian party spirit is the combination of these revolutionary and scientific natures.

Dialectical materialism holds that all world developments must follow objective laws, and that these laws cannot be changed by the desires of man. If man wants to change nature, to change society, he must follow these objective laws, and work within these objective laws. To combine revolutionary courage and a realistic working spirit means that in the face of these objective laws we are neither slaves

so these objective laws nor can we violate these objective laws, but we must give full play to the combining of man's subjective mobility and strictly adhere to the objectivity of these laws. We have had many bitter lessons in this area. We will not mention things that happened a long time ago, but just take the sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling platform and the construction projects to turn the "Western water Eastward" for example. They were ignorant, subjective "workings in violation of nature." They were in violation of objective laws.

We must understand that subjective perversity is not "revolutionary courage." Such things as "the earth can produce as much as man has the courage to make it produce," "fear only that you do not think of it, do not fear that you can not do it," as well as not respecting the autonomy of the production units in agriculture activities and forcing them to all harvest and plant at the same time is really "there are many ways of doing things when there is no plan, and a lot of resolution when the situation is unclear." This kind of "blind leadership," "boasting," and "communism" has delivered serious set-backs to our national economy. Just like Engels said, "Disdain for dialectics must be punished." The realization of the four modernizations will be a great change. Facing us on many fronts is the realm of necessity which is not yet familiar. If we are successfully to implement the four modernizations it is even more critical for us to combine revolutionary courage with a realistic working spirit. There are two trends that must be overcome. One is a small number of cadres with petrified thinking. They follow the old ways and habitually do things according to established methods. In their work consciously or unconsciously they become the Monk Tang (of the Westward Journey) reciting the Incantation of the Golden Hoop and not Sun Wukong who dares to do and say and to upset the Palace of Heaven. These comrades need a little more revolutionary courage. Like Stalin said, "Revolutionary courage is the tonic for purging ideological blockage due to habits, old style thinking, and conservatism, as well as traditional attitudes of blind obedience." The other trend is some comrades only know bragging, lying, and empty talk. They don't understand investigation and research, starting from objective reality, studying new situations, and solving new problems. They do not do something which obviously can be done in a short time, but persist in complaining about some things which can not be done in a short time. This is actually a departure from reality, it is a bureaucratic style divorced from the masses. Lenin pointed out, "The use of nice words and phrases to cover up an unpleasant situation, as far as the proletarian revolution is concerned, is the most injurious and most dangerous thing for the work of the laboring masses. Boasting, lying, and empty talk will not solve the problems of the four modernizations. It will, however, nourish and foster bureaucracy and seriously damage the prestige of the party. There is a common saying that 10 idle talkers are no match for 1 doer, and 1,000 mouths are no match for 1 working hand. We are placing total emphasis on practice and 'one practical action is more important than a dozen programs.' If we are to really combine revolutionary courage with a realistic working spirit in all of our work, then we must relate theory with practice, practice what we preach, speak and act in an honest fashion, strive to work in accordance with objective laws, and advance along one step at a time.

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK MUST NOT BE OVERLOOKED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 p 1, 3

[Article by staff commentator: "The Entire Party Must Pay Close Attention to Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] The All-Province Propaganda Work Conference has discussed the question of how to strengthen ideological and political work in the new era, analyzed present ideological trends within and outside the party, and put forward the tasks and requirements of ideological and political work. This was entirely necessary. At present, when our country is undergoing profound changes in all aspects, and in the face of ideological problems that still largely exist in society, not only must the propaganda departments grasp ideological and political work well, but we must emphasize that the whole party needs to pay close attention to ideological and political work.

How to look at the ideological trends in society in our province at present, and how to appraise them, are questions we must first explore when we proceed with our ideological and political work.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the ideology of the vast ranks of cadres and masses in our province has undergone fairly great improvement; it has become more and more unified under the spirit of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. The party style and social customs have both been developing in a desirable direction. The people's thinking has been greatly emancipated and has become very lively. But we should also see that, in the ideological realm, some problems really exist at present, and they are fairly serious problems. These problems, fundamentally speaking, all constitute a question of perception concerning the party's general line centered on the work of the four modernizations. Among the cadres and masses, not a few people wish to realize the four modernizations but, at the same time, they also half believe in but half doubt the four modernizations, tag along but also look around, and lack confidence. Either they lack ambition, attach too much importance to the difficulties we face and the unavoidable secondary problems in the process of our reform, fail to see beneficial conditions, and fail to see the overall situation, or, because some practical problems in their lives cannot be solved, they have come to feel discouraged; or, because they see that bureaucratism and the style of particularization cannot be quickly rectified, they have become impatient. Some people not only harbor doubts about the four modernizations, but they also feel

antagonistic in different degrees toward the restructuring of the economic system and certain new policy measures. Because they have been influenced fairly deeply by the extreme left line, they take as manifestations of the superiority of the socialist system certain practices carried out in the past which exceeded the current level of productive power, which violated economic and natural laws, which hampered the development of production, and which restrained the enthusiasm of the masses. And if we proceed to reform these irrational practices, they think we are being "rightists," "revisionists," and "retrogressive." Still other people mainly certain youths, doubt the very superiority of the socialist system. Political views pertaining to bourgeois democracy and freedom, the ideology of extreme individualism, and the psychology of envying Hong Kong and Macao and worshipping foreign ways of life have sprung up and spread among them. Apart from these people, there are also a few hostile elements who hate the four basic principles and the party's general line, and who take advantage of contradictions among the people to create confusion and sabotage our stability and unit. To sum up: Different ideas and contradictions exist in the ideological realm at present, but the fundamental question is the struggle between those trends adhering to the party's general line, centering on the work of the four modernizations, and those trends doubting and resisting this general line.

Concerning the problems which exist in the ideological realm today, if we go a bit deeper to explore their cause, we will see that these problems have already existed for a long time and are the continuation of the consequences of the 10-year turmoil. Some problems existed even before the 10-year turmoil. During the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" messed up our ideology, messed up our system, messed up our policy, peddled the goods of sham socialism as genuine socialism, and brought the national economy to the brink of collapse. Thus they seriously sabotaged our party's fine traditions. This turmoil enabled the influences of feudalist ideology, bourgeois ideology, and petty bourgeois ideology to greatly extend their front, leading to the emergence of various complicated trends of thought and the emergence of all kinds of views concerning the superiority of the socialist system, concerning the party's leadership, concerning Marxism-Leninism, and concerning Mao Zedong Thought. A good many people not only did not have enough confidence in the building of socialism, but they also worried about the future of the Party and the state. It was only because of the feudal, autocratic rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that people generally dared not discuss their real thoughts openly, and hence such problems became concealed. After the smashing of the "gang of four," people have dared to speak out and have dared to bring out problems. The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee reiterated the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and the people's thinking has once more become lively. The congested, simultaneous appearance of previously concealed, half-clear, half-obscure trends of thought is what has contributed to the complex, complicated situation in the ideological realm.

The appearance of these various trends of thought at present is also closely related to the entry of our country into a new historical era. In order to triumphantly proceed with our work of socialist modernization, we are seriously summing up the positive and negative experiences of our 30 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction and are exploring the correct path for building socialism. The 10-year turmoil did not arise from imagination. Therefore we must, through practice, examine various principles, policies, systems, and theories

since the founding of our state; inherit and develop those which are correct; and change those which are incorrect, old, and not in agreement with our new task. At such a turning point, when the old is eliminated and the new is deployed, diverse reactions are likely to be aroused and a struggle between new and old thoughts is bound to emerge.

To sum up the above, we can see that it is inevitable that certain complicated situations should emerge in the ideological realm at present. Some are the remnant poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; some are affected by the erosive influences of external bourgeois ideas; some are remnant poisons of feudalist thinking and reflections of the ideas of the small producers; and some reflect the shortcomings in our work. Insofar as these situations are concerned, we must pay close attention to them, seriously do a good job in our ideological and political work, provide relevant guidance according to propitious conditions, and direct the people's thinking onto the correct course. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate their seriousness or fail to distinguish between the main current and the side currents--between the whole and the parts. Some think that a certain confusion which exists in the ideological realm at present has resulted from our failure to do a good job in propaganda work or from the emancipation of our thinking. This view does not accord with facts.

The complicated, complex interaction of diverse thoughts at present includes both interference of remnant poison from the extreme left and influences from the rightist direction; it includes struggles between the advanced and the backward, between renovation and conservatism, and between the correct and the erroneous; it likewise includes class struggle. Hence, in pursuing our ideological and political work we cannot adopt "the same cut." We must proceed from the actual situation in our own localities and our own units, and thereby opposition to whatever erroneous ideas exist--emphasizing opposition to whatever erroneous ideas are found to be the principal ones. We must not indiscriminantly put forward opposition to the "left" or to the right.

In line with the actual situation in our province, together with the continued elimination of remnant poisons from the extreme left, we must at the same time stress the importance of opposing the erosion of bourgeois ideology. Because of the geographical position that Guangdong occupies, and also because of historical factors, the influence of bourgeois ideology has always been relatively great. In recent years we have strengthened our external activities, our exchanges with the outside world have expanded, and our contacts with the capitalist world have been more frequent. All this is necessary. But at the same time, the bourgeois ideology and its way of life have started to seep in through various channels. We cannot take this lightly. This is a new condition appearing in the ideological realm under the new situation. We must carry out patriotic education among the cadres and masses as well as education on the ideal future, education on moral character, education on democracy and rule of law, and education on hard struggle, so as to build a great wall in our ideology and resist the erosion of bourgeois ideology. We must at the same time pay attention to eliminating the remnant poison of feudalist ideology.

In regard to the current discrepancy in ideological perception within the party and among the people with respect to the party's line, principles and policies, the substance is what kind of society, after all, a socialist society should be. Different views have always existed with respect to this question ever since the founding of our state. Our country has advanced from a semifeudal and semicolonial society into a socialist society. The level of our productive power is very low, however, and the country is therefore in a low stage of socialist society. But in the past, we had erroneous views as to what kind of society the present stage of our socialist society should be. For instance, it was thought that we could ignore the developmental level of our productive forces and artificially change production relations, thereby speeding up our effort to make ownership public and carry out uniform ownership by the whole people. Efforts were made to carry out egalitarianism in the realm of distribution; efforts were made to implement a high degree of concentration in the realms of production and circulation, leading to dead rigidity, etc. At present, the controversies that have emerged in our country about the long-term coexistence of elements of many different types of economy, about the use of market adjustment, about the development of commodity economy, about protection of competition, about restructuring the economic management system, and other such problems have, in the final analysis, all arisen from those different views as to what kind of society a socialist society should be. Therefore we must educate the cadres and educate the masses anew, and understand our socialist society anew. We must take ideological and political work in this aspect of our economic construction as the central task in our propaganda work, strengthen our economic propaganda, strengthen our propaganda on the economic theory of socialism, and help everybody understand the objective economic laws of a socialist society. Only in this way will everybody stop feeling stunned by our economic reform and the party's policy measures.

Our party has a fine, longstanding tradition in ideological and political work, and plenty of successful experience in it. But during the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resorted to an expansion of class struggle, confused the two kinds of different contradictions, criticized at random, struggled at random, and thereby seriously sabotaged our ideological and political work. And today, some comrades have again partially understood how to manage the economy by economic means but have overlooked how to mobilize the people's enthusiasm through ideological and political work and of thinking that ideological and political work is something we can take or leave. On the basis of the characteristics of the new era, they must launch ideological and political work, eliminate the interference of all erroneous trends of thought, and enable the vast ranks of cadres and masses to struggle with one heart and one mind for the building of a modern, powerful, socialist country.

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PARTY AND STATE

ELIMINATION OF 'PERNICIOUS' INFLUENCE OF FEUDAL THOUGHT URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Wu Yuli (0702 3768 7812): "Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of Feudal Thought"]

[Text] In the real life of our country, the pernicious influence of feudal thought continues to exist in various forms. This is a publicly recognized fact. Through 10 years of fomenting disorder, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stirred up despotism, cultism, factionalism, and the notion of special privilege, and even unscrupulously instigated literary persecution. These are the stuff of feudalism. During the days when they were running wild, such feudal remnants, like settled dregs which float upwards--an ill wind which spreads like a plague--brought upon our party, country and people a great calamity of unparalleled severity. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," this kind of thinking met with further criticism, but it still did not disappear without a trace. There continues to be a bad odor emanating from every corner of socialist life, poisoning the people's minds and becoming an obstruction to the realization of socialist modernization and the democratization of political life. Because of this, eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought has become one of our great tasks on the ideological battlefield.

1

The feudal society of our country had a long history of 2,000-3000 years. And semi-colonial feudal rule lasted more than 100 years. This has given feudalistic thinking a long heritage, leaving it deeply entrenched and allowing it to penetrate extensively into every aspect of social life. Some things have already become a force of habit. The feudal despotic system and the system of feudal thought which emerged from the natural economic base of small-scale production, developed to relative maturity and completeness in our country. Its outstanding characteristics were:

1. Feudal rulers personally held absolute power. Beginning with the Qin Dynasty, our nation formed into a united, autocratic country with centralized authority. The emperor was the supreme ruler and enjoyed absolute power. Simply by being "the magnificent Son of Heaven" one then "possessed the wealth of the world." The will of the emperor was law. His emotional states determined the personal fates of the people, their rise and fall, glory and disgrace.

All the people of the country were the subjects of the emperor. They had to follow completely the orders of the emperor and could not resist. To do otherwise was to be labeled "traitorous." Rivers and mountains became personal property, as in "The emperor in the country." The emperor had the authority to reward any person by giving them noble rank, official position, property, special privileges, or the honorific titles of religious clergymen. He could also put anyone to death on "fabricated" charges. The actions of those on high were imitated by those below. For the country as a whole it was the emperor who decided everything; for the localities or the ministries it was the officials who decided everything. Each level of feudal officialdom relied on the protection of the emperor. And by utilizing the power that came into their hands, feudal officials were able to oppress the people at will and seize the wealth of society. Sayings such as: "magistrates are free to commit arson, while the common people are forbidden to even light lamps," and "three years as a Qing Dynasty magistrate, 100,000 pieces of silver," are profound indictments of this kind of despotism.

2. A rigid stratification system and wideranging feudal privileges. During the long period of feudal society in our country, from beginning to end a rigid system of stratification and special privilege was practiced. The feudal ruling class made use of each of the multilayered, pyramidal levels of bureaucratic organs to govern and control the entire country. The emperor implemented the systems of hereditary nobility and lifetime tenure. The officials, in accordance with the level of their rank, enjoyed varying degrees of political and economic privilege. To become an official was to strike it rich, as in the saying "To have authority is to have everything." Ever since the system of "reward nepotism" [The rewarding of officials with positions for their sons] began in Han times, "once one man entered officialdom, his descendants and relatives could all receive official rank." If princes, nobles, or bureaucrats committed crimes, under the law they all enjoyed special privileges which allowed them to lessen, avoid, buy their way out of, or use official rank to mitigate punishment. The employment of feudal officials generally followed a system of appointment and discharge in which authority ran from the top down. The basic principle in employing persons was "instate only relatives." Because of this, elevation of the mean to respectability, rigidity of rank, mutual deception and distrust, battles for rights and advantage, manipulation of the law for personal gain, acceptance of bribes for official services, following the beaten path, and corruption and incompetence became inherent features of feudal, bureaucratic politics.

3. Promotion of cultural despotism and obscurantism. The feudal rulers, in order to maintain political unity, also needed to establish a single pattern of governing thought and to promote a cultural tyranny. Qin Shihuang carried out the "burning of the books and burying of the scholars" which set the precedent for cultural despotism; but Qin Shihuang and others like him did not realize that the Confucian doctrines were actually very useful tools for maintaining despotic, centralized rule. Only Jong Dongshu in Han times, through his historical and practical experience, recognized this point and raised the idea: "Do away with the Hundred Schools and respect only the Confucianism." Having passed through the editing and explication of Jong Dongshu, the Confucian

doctrines were subsequently utilized by monarchs throughout history. By Sung times, "The Four Books, Collected and Explained" by Ju Xi became required reading for the intelligentsia of the feudal society and supplied the standard answers for the feudal imperial examinations. Schools and teachers were limited to teaching "The Four Books," "The Five Classics," "The Historical Lectures," and the like. Whoever did not operate according to this set of regulations would be charged with "departing from the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy" and would meet with persecution and dismissal. This type of ideological and cultural tyranny is intimately associated with political oppression. It was particularly severe during the literary persecutions which arose during the Ming and Qing dynasties. If the emperor was offended by so much as a single book, a single poem, a single line, or even a single word, then the originator would be labelled "traitorous" and be put to death; guilt by association could fall on the family as well, bringing misfortune to both relatives and friends. The cultural despotism which the feudal rulers promoted was, by its very nature, a kind of obscurantism. Among the things which the feudal rulers and their agents did their utmost to propagate, and which had the greatest influence on society, were these three: First was the theory of the Mandate of Heaven. There appeared in China, beginning in the Yin and Zhou periods, a religious concept of Heaven's will. Based on this idea, Confucius suggested that "life and death are ordered, the determination of wealth and nobility rests with Heaven," thereby viewing "Heaven" as a "God" with a will and the ability to direct all events in the human sphere. Jong Dongshu of the Han era restructured the Mandate of Heaven theory and created a teleological and theological system of philosophy. He did his best to advocate that "heaven" was "the great sovereign of all gods," "the ancestor of all things"; and that all things were purposefully arranged by "heaven." Further, Heaven's son was called the "Son of Heaven," and "the Son of Heaven received his mandate from Heaven, the world received its mandate from the Son of Heaven." The sovereign's authority was divinely given. In this way the emperor was "deified." Due to the fact that the emperor was the "Divine Son of Heaven," his revered divinity was inviolable. From Han times this point was written into law. Second was the idea of loyalty to the sovereign. In feudal society, the sovereign-minister relationship was, in actuality, a "master" and "slave" relationship. "The minister serves the monarch with loyalty." Loyalty to the person of the emperor became the highest standard of virtue and the highest political principle of feudal society. Such, "if the sovereign desired the minister's death, it was disloyal for the minister not to die." A man could only praise the monarch and could not speak of his slightest imperfection. In this kind of a situation, sycophancy and fawning flattery were rampant in every feudal dynastic period. Those accomplished and outstanding figures in history who expressed critical opinions of the emperors who abused their despotic powers frequently met with tragic ends; whereas those ambitious, scheming sorts, on the other hand, would use "superficial loyalty," flattery and other means to deviously secure trust and snatch power. Third was the "three nets and five constants" patriarchal concept of ethics. At the heart of this patriarchal concept of ethics were the "three nets." These were explained as: "The sovereign is the net of the minister, the father is the net of the son, and the husband is the net of the wife," and "The three nets of the Way of the King can be sought in Heaven." In this way divine right, imperial right, the right of nobility, and the rights of the husband were all cast in the

same furnace and together embodied the thought and system of feudal patriarchal ethics. They formed a complete framework of enormous ropes which maintained the feudal despotic system and bound the thought of the people. For a long period of time, this conception of patriarchal ethics, along with the Mandate of Heaven theory and the idea of loyalty to the sovereign, combined to form a kind of traditional force of habit, and produced an extremely evil and penetrating influence in our country.

After the 1940 Opium War, China step-by-step became a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. In the old China, during more than 100 years of semi-colonialism, and semi-feudalism, the feeble bourgeois class never once carried out a serious, penetrating criticism of feudal thought. On the contrary, feudal thought and the slavish thought of imperialism formed a reactionary alliance and became the ruling thought of society. The Revolution of 1911 nominally established a republican system, threw out the emperor and replaced him with that of president. In fact, however, things remained much as before: dictatorial rule by both large and small feudal warlords. The May Fifth Movement of 1919 was a forceful attack on the ideology and culture of feudalism. It aroused the masses from the suffocation of several thousand years of feudal despotism, but, as before, did not touch the foundation of feudalism. As such, feudal thought in every area of life in our society continues to have a vast and profound influence.

11

In overthrowing the feudal reactionary rule and the feudal system of ownership, the New Democratic Revolution led by our party was successful and thorough. But it did not really complete its task of eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought. During the course of the socialist revolution, our criticisms of the bourgeois notions of harming others to benefit yourself, planning based solely on profit, and opportunism, and of their decadent lifestyles were completely necessary; but in the course of our actual work, we underestimated the extent of the influence of the insidious remnants of feudal thought, and we did not firmly grasp the struggle to eliminate the pernicious influence of feudal thought. This was so to an extent that the insidious feudal remnants and the forces of habit they engendered have quietly grown, obstructing and damaging the consolidation and development of the socialist system. During their 10 years of fomenting disorder, the reason that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were able to rampage in such a manner and carry out their unscrupulous perversities lies in the fact that the poisonous effects and influence of feudal thought not only existed in the minds of the masses, but had also penetrated into the party. If it were not for this state of affairs, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," these dregs of feudalism, could not possibly have put into effect such an enormous counterrevolutionary capacity.

For a long time now, due precisely to our neglecting to carry out a serious and systematic criticism and elimination of the pernicious influence of feudal thought, we have, in the course of our actual work, frequently been unable to throw off the influence of such thought. This is so even to the point that, in regard to certain problems, we have promoted feudal things, taking them to be socialist things. For example, some of our comrades, being unable to draw a

clear line between proletarian centralism and the system of feudal patriarchy, have preserved the system of feudal patriarchy, taking it to be proletarian centralism. As a consequence, in the course of actual work, they demonstrate a deficient understanding of the concept of democracy and place the individual above the group or the masses. They become egotistical and act arbitrarily. Because of not clearly drawing the line between self-reliance and isolation, they frequently advocate isolation, taking it to be self-reliance. The result is that they sink into conservatism, backwardness, and arrogance. Feudal despotism; the concept of patriarchal ethics; feudal, patriarchal styles of leadership; as well as feudal class distinctions; special privilege mentality; and the force of habit are frequently manifested by our cadres and the masses in various forms.

In addition to the reasons analyzed above that enable the residual poison of feudal thought to continue to influence every aspect of life in our society, there remains a two-sided situation worthy of our attention: First, the existing concrete institutions are not perfect; many defects exist. For example, the existing system of lifetime tenure for cadres has developed into a force of custom which allows cadres to rise but not to fall; the employment of cadres basically continues to follow an appointment system with authority running from the top down. One seldom hears the opinions of the masses in regard to the selection of cadres. This leads to cadres with improper thinking who are responsive to those above and not responsive to the masses; thus reversing the relations between the individual and the masses, between the public servant and the masters. Consequently, it is easy for these cadres to become infected with the perverse style of feudal sycophancy, seeking the favor of their superiors, acting arbitrarily toward those in lower positions, and being unconcerned with the hardships of the masses. Second, in our country small-scale production has been as expansive as the oceans, with a history of more than 2,000 years. Through socialist reform and construction this situation has been greatly changed, but by and large, the level of development of our productivity remains very low. Especially in agricultural production where hand labor continues to be the basis in most areas, there remain certain special characteristics of small-scale production. The influence of the styles of thought and living of small-scale production remains widespread. All of these are important reasons why the pernicious influence of feudal thought can continue to exist and, under certain conditions, can stir up great troubles and poison the cadres and the masses.

III

Both the perversities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the lessons of experience we have received in our actual work show fully the depth of the influence and the extent of the danger that the residual poison of feudal thought holds for the social life of our nation. Therefore, we must work hard in the areas of thought and politics to eliminate the remaining influence of feudal thought and liberate the vast number of cadres and the masses from these spiritual shackles. Otherwise, completion of the ongoing process of democratization of political life will be obstructed and all aspects of the line, direction, and policy of the Central Committee of the CCP cannot be thoroughly carried out. And this will directly influence the smooth development of the work on the Four Modernizations.

Now being the case, how then should we go about criticizing and eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought?

First, lines must be clear, attitudes must be firm. We must use the tools of Marxist-Leninist and Mao Zedong Thought to seriously analyze the social and historical roots produced by feudal thought. We must summarize the practical lessons we have learned on the ideological battlefield through 30 years of nation building and clearly draw the lines between proletarian thought and feudalistic and bourgeois thought; between democratic centralism, the authority of our leaders, and despotism; between the role of the individual and the cult of personality; between appropriate distinctions in the treatment of others and notions of special privilege; between the democratic essence of our cultural legacy and the feudal dregs; and between the pernicious influence of feudalism and the unscientific methods and flawed systems produced in our work owing to a lack of experience. We must also raise our self-awareness in opposing the influence of feudal thought. In clarifying these lines and accurately spotting the influence of the residual poison of feudal thought--and its manifestations--we must align ourselves with reality and carry out serious criticism. In this respect, we must hold fast to the scientific attitude of seeking the truth in facts and not raise a storm of activity and label everything feudalism without analyzing it.

Second, we must vigorously perfect our party discipline and national law, as well as the regulations in each area of our system. Eliminating the pernicious influence of feudal thought, as far as the masses and cadres are concerned, involves a kind of self-education and self-reform. Therefore, we must make use of the methods of thorough reasoning and calm discussion. At the same time, in eliminating the influence of feudal remnants, the important thing is to thoroughly reform and perfect every aspect of the party and state systems.

As for those system regulations which do not fit the demands of the four transformations, that continue to retain traces of feudalism, and that leave holes which make it easy for feudalism to grow and exist, we must firmly implement reforms. For example, doing away with the system of lifetime tenure actually in use for cadres and leaders at every level, and establishing and perfecting cadre management systems for dealing with the selection, evaluation, supervision, commendation and censure, recall, rotation, and retirement of cadres are important aspects of carrying out such reform.

Third, we must be tenacious. Because the long history of feudal thought has had a profound influence on the social life of our country, also on the political life of the party, some things have already developed into a stubborn force of habits. Therefore, the criticism and elimination of the pernicious influence of feudal thought is both an urgent task, and a long-term process. The kind of attitude which does not fully recognize the long-term nature of this kind of struggle, which lacks tenacity; which, upon meeting obstacles or setbacks, presses for quick completion or gets discouraged and loses determination is not correct. Nor is it advantageous in bringing this arduous task to completion.

The reason we say that criticism of feudal thought is a long-term struggle lies in the fact that thorough elimination of the pernicious influence of this kind of thought, in the final analysis, depends upon developing society's productivity to a high degree and greatly raising the scientific and cultural level of all the people. This is because all the thoughts, styles, traditions, ideas, customs, and the like which are created by specific material conditions can, in the end, only be thoroughly changed through the creation of new material conditions. Therefore, for the moment, we must strongly cherish and protect our excellent situation of stability and unity, with common minds and hearts, proceed with the four transformations. During the New Long March to realize the Four Modernizations of Socialism, we must create the material base and social conditions to thoroughly bury the pernicious influence of feudal thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT MAKING UP WORLD OUTLOOK EXAMINED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Ceng Hairong (2582 4103 3816): "Exactly How Many Schools of Thought Make Up a World Outlook"]

[Text] Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there has been one type of statement: "As far as a world outlook is concerned, if you are not a member of the proletariat then you are a member of the bourgeoisie." Does this type of thesis correspond to the real situation?

A world outlook was originally a reflection of the existence of a people's material society. However, with regard to Chinese society there are already many people who argue that "the society of the past 3,000 years was a feudal society" and that even after the overthrow of the emperor, and during the long period before liberation, China was no more than a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society and that "the big imperialist powers" who caused China to become a semi-colony, "also caused China's feudal landlord class to become the mainstay of their domination of China." How could a feudal class which was this powerful suddenly disappear along with its remnants and influence within only one night after liberation?

There have been articles which have analyzed this by saying of China's national bourgeoisie that "their power was very weak." But in the socialist period it seems that the bourgeoisie changed from being weak to being extremely strong, with bourgeois rightists numbering in the several hundred thousands. This still only refers to politics; when we talk about world outlook, their number is countless. Therefore, if today there is an anti-bourgeoisie rightist trend, tomorrow the bourgeois white flag will be raised again. The result was that several hundred million peasants all grew bourgeois tails and they repeatedly had to be cut off on a nationwide scale. Because of this, class struggle could only become more and more intense and more and more complex. It is as if everyone, in complete madness, wanted to restore the lost bourgeois heaven. In the end, this stirred up a 10-year calamity, and as many as 100 million people could not escape in the face of this inexorable doom.

The bitter lesson is that we forgot that the drags of the bourgeoisie still exist. These patriarchal systems, the condition of what one person says goes, bureaucracy, the condition "large and complete and small and complete," the lack of contact even with neighbors--aren't they the brands of feudalism?

The drugs of feudalism headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, made deliberate misrepresentations, caused Marxism to be capitalism, falsely accused the proletariat of being capitalists, said the revolution was counterrevolutionary and said the great counterrevolution was the great revolution. Given their world outlook this is natural and not surprising, otherwise how can you explain it?

How much blood, how many lives and how many tears were expended? It is because the evil shadow of feudalism still exists.

From the 1940's right up to the present, historians have been unable to explain clearly exactly when the dividing line between China's 3,000 years of feudal society and slave society occurs. Yet, early feudal lords and slave owners, early peasants and slaves, in many respects must be clearly distinguished, but to do so is really hard. For example, during these years the "three nots" were consistently advocated. The first one was not to come down with the big stick, who came down with the big stick? Was it the feudal class? I think it must have been the slave owner class.

Therefore, I think that in regards to a world view, if you are not a member of the proletariat, then you are a member of the bourgeoisie, if you are not a member of the bourgeoisie, then you are a member of the feudal class and if you are not a member of the feudal class, then you are a member of the slave owner class.

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PARTY AND STATE

'BOHAI 2' INCIDENT EXEMPLIFIES GANG'S EVIL EFFECTS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Wen Zhu (2429 4554): "We Must Never Again Engage in Sham Ideological Political Work"]

[Text] The sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling boat is an incident that causes one to ponder deeply. This painful lesson makes one think about many questions, and how to strengthen our ideological political work is one of the questions we must think about.

Right now, some comrades in ideological political work feel that it is difficult to do their job, because no one listens to what they say, and every time they try to reason, people think that it is only empty verbiage. Some comrades associate this with the evil wind that is blowing in society, and think that ideological political work must be strengthened.

Due to changes in objective conditions, ideological political work has also encountered new problems. The tendency to overlook ideological political work does exist. Some people lack a correct understanding of ideological political work, and think that "political study is useless." If you try to reason with them, they say it is verbiage; if you try to talk facts, they talk nonsense. All of these situations do in fact exist; therefore, ideological political work must be strengthened, not weakened.

But comrades who are leaders and who are doing ideological political work should also pause and reconsider why nobody wants to listen. How can we improve and strengthen ideological political work?

The sinking of the Bohai No 2 drilling boat typically reflects the fact that the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still exist in ideological political work.

This incident caused 72 deaths, and the direct economic loss was 37 million [yuan]. At the time, the people's thinking must have been greatly upset, ideological political work should have been followed up. But how did the leaders in the Ocean Petroleum Exploration Bureau grasp ideological political work? Summing it up with the one word "sham" is not too excessive. The incident, which was due to being irresponsible and unscientific, was described as having happened "because

of a sudden strong wind that could not be regulated." In order to standardize thinking, they even forbade any mention of the word "incident." And they even proclaimed that we should "pay attention to the new trend of class struggle" and "prevent others who have a particular intention of confusing the situation." How could they explain the 72 deaths? They still talked as if they had good reasons: "Where there is struggle, there is sacrifice; where there is a price to pay for a war, there is a price to pay for the 'four modernizations'; 'the 72 deaths are worth it.'" The loss of 37 million (yuan) was described as "tuition" that was paid to the ocean. One of the characteristics of sham ideological political work is loud noise followed by "great conclusions," "great criticism," "great propaganda," and "great praise."

It would be very strange for anyone to listen to this kind of ideological political work, unless there is such delusion that it seems flawless or one is under heavy pressure. Our party once had very high prestige, and one of the important reasons was that we were practical and realistic. The sham, big, empty wind blown by the "gang of four" seriously damaged our party's prestige; and sham, big, empty words were what leaders of the Ocean Petroleum Exploration Bureau told the masses regarding this sinking incident. You said it was "paying tuition," but wouldn't others wonder how could we afford this kind of tuition? You said they were heroes, but wouldn't others wonder how could we afford losing our heroes this way?

Ideological political work should also be realistic and practical. Ideological political work needs reasoning; it is necessary to talk reason, but it must be related to facts. Newspapers have been openly reporting the incident of the sinking of Bohai No 2 drilling boat. They have analyzed the true situation from the facts, and have clarified the responsibilities, and have handled it seriously. They also have talked a lot about respecting science and the masses. People do not feel that these are empty words, because they are true and are related to facts. Sham and empty words cannot strengthen ideological political work. We must not blame others for not listening, but must ask ourselves whether we believe it or not.

Some of our ideological political work makes people feel that it is not pinpointed at issues and is not sincere, and therefore the results are not ideal. It is not like the sinking incident, where some people were trying to cover things up, but it still lacks overall consideration and clear purpose, and so it is unconvincing. Sometimes this situation gives people a feeling of sham. For example, after an incident in the past, leading bodies of some units would describe the problem as being very serious, and a general incident would be classified as a political incident. It would seem as though they were very serious about ideological political work, but in fact the result was just the opposite.

As to how to strengthen ideological political work, there are many problems to be studied. The incident of the Bohai No 2 sinking reminds us that we should do this as well, pay attention to cleaning up the evil effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and not engage in sham ideological political work any longer.

PARTY AND STATE

EVIL DEEDS CANNOT CHANGE INTO GOOD DEEDS

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Su Donghai (5685 2639 3189): "An Accident Can Only Be an Accident"]

[Text] The correct handling of the "capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig" was carried out to the immense satisfaction of the people. Some people say that this was an evil deed changed into a good deed. If the matter can be seen in this way, I feel it is worthy of further study.

What is an evil deed that is changed into a good deed? Some say that it indicates a thing which has transformed from its evil aspect to its good aspect. Good and evil are a pair of contradictions which can mutually transform. When the evil aspect overcomes the good aspect it is called an evil deed but otherwise it is called a good deed. Yet, a thing always possesses its determined character and the struggle of contradictions always has an outcome. If the outcome is a good deed then it is a good deed and if the outcome is an evil deed then it is an evil deed. If the matter already has an outcome which is an evil deed, then how can it change into a good deed? The capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig has already become "an accident." It can therefore only be an accident and cannot turn into something meritorious.

However, for many years, people often lumped evil deeds and the handling of evil deeds together without distinguishing between them. It seemed that if an evil deed was handled well--for example, a lesson was learned, mistakes were overcome, or work was improved, and so forth--the evil deed was changed into a good deed. I think that this is incorrect. This is confusing the inner and outer contradictions of things. The good and evil of a matter form a set of contradictions which decide whether the matter is a good deed or an evil deed. For the handling of good deeds or evil deeds, there are also the contradictions of good and bad and this forms another set of contradictions. This set of contradictions decides whether the results of this matter are good or evil. The latter is a contradiction induced from the former and although both are connected, yet they have the relationship of outer contradictions. No matter how well the party Central Committee and the State Council handled the capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig, they could not change the intrinsic nature of this accident. Evil deeds are after all evil deeds. To say that if an accident is handled well, the accident becomes a good deed is obviously a type of confusion of thought,

It is not only a matter of errors in thinking. For many years, it has often become a subterfuge for concealing mistakes, causing people to not face up to mistakes. Since evil deeds can change into good deeds, then what is there to fear from making mistakes? If the making of mistakes can even "spur on" the improvement of work, it therefore becomes a great good deed. Methods of thinking like this which are similar to A Q's spiritual method were prevalent for more than 18 years and the mistakes did not change into good deeds. Furthermore, greater and greater mistakes were made, and it was not known where it would all end. Fortunately, the "gang of four" was smashed, the party again returned to the scientific ideological line of dialectical materialism, and these idealistic modes of thought were exposed one by one. In acclaiming the correct handling of the capsizing of the Bohai No 2 oil rig, should we not again examine this topic of evil deeds changing into good deeds?

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

RANKING MILITARY PERSONNEL, CADRES VOLUNTARILY STEP ASIDE

Retired General's Reminiscences

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 80 p 1

[Interview by Chen Guanbo [7115 0385 2672] and Jiang Ping [3068 0988]: "What Are the General's Thoughts?--Interview With an Old Warrior of the Red Army, Former Deputy Commanding Officer of Provincial Military District Zhou Changsheng"]

[Text] The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress just concluded has solemnly put forward the question of making the ranks of our cadres young, intellectual, and professional. As our party proceeds to select large contingents of youthful and able cadres, what do the old comrades think about it?

In order to find answers to this question, we interviewed Comrade Zhou Changsheng [0719 7022 0524], former deputy commanding officer of the provincial military district, in front of a quiet building at the sanitarium for retired cadres of the provincial military district.

As soon as we met each other, Zhou Changsheng spoke high-spiritedly: "I joined the revolution over 50 years ago, but this is the first time I have heard about old comrades at the central headquarters taking the initiative to make way for others; this is a terrific event. The reform of China's cadre system is going to make a good beginning now!" With the magnanimity representative of a fighting general, he started to guffaw openly.

He especially mentioned Deputy Chairman Nie Rongzhen and his letter of resignation. As political commissar of the First Red Group Army in the early days, General Nie always remembered that he had under his jurisdiction a model company commander by the name of Zhou Changsheng, who fought heroically. After liberation, General Nie would always call for Zhou Changsheng each time he came to Hangzhou and would ask about his work and about his health, showing utmost care. Not long ago, Zhou Changsheng saw General Nie receive "the little Japanese lady" on television when he was weak with illness, having to be supported by two persons before he could stand up. He had worried ever since about the health of his old chief. He had even thought of telephoning General Nie to comfort him somewhat. At this session of the National People's Congress, he read General Nie's letter of resignation, and he was moved to tears. Although the old chief was old and often sick, he still frequently thought of successors who must carry on the cause of the party; now he was setting an example for us, [Zhou] thought. We were now also nearly

70 or 80 years of age; if we still refused to vacate our positions and let young people take over, then "with the person lying in the hospital, and his title upheld at commanding headquarters," how could we realize the four modernizations? Thinking along this line, my life in these years since my retirement has proved really worthwhile.

As a general, Zhou Changsheng fought countless battles. Since he joined the revolution in the Jiangxi soviet area in 1929, he has spent more than half of his life in the military ranks. He sighed as he spoke these words: Everybody has a period of youth in his lifetime; when we took on the title "commander" and started to lead troops, we were but young lads less than 20 years old. Even when we became cadres at division and army levels, we were not much older than 30, and we were then already directing "thousands of troops." During the war years, the emphasis was always placed on promoting young cadres. When I first became a battalion commander, the regimental commander at the time, Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], was the very one who had taught me how to lead and command troops, and he did so with his own hand guiding mine. I remember during the battle at Sandingbao in northern Shaanxi, our regiment commander was wounded, our political commissar was martyred, and the whole regiment only had myself left as chief of staff. The enemy was right in front of us, and the situation was urgent. At the time, political commissar Xiao Hua [5618 5478] at division headquarters decisively issued an order for me to shoulder the burden of commanding the whole regiment, and he also dispatched the chief of staff from division headquarters to bring me several directives for fighting the battle. I started to work on the job, and the battle, it turned out, was not fought too badly. Today, there are not a few fine young cadres in our army. Not only the "1938 model" and the "liberation model" cadres during the years of revolutionary wars, but after the founding of our state we had a very rich experience in fighting during the resist-America and aid-Korea campaign. Those who participated in the war of self-defensive counterattack last year also fought very well. All cadres of these categories need old comrades to help the party organizations select them correctly. And just selecting others still will not do; it is also necessary for them to vacate their positions in favor of younger comrades and to let themselves retreat to the second or third line. Only thus will such cadres become lively in their work.

At this point, we interrupted him to say: Today, some old comrades are still mindful about becoming advisers and about retiring. Zhou Changsheng said: This requires them to look from the point of view of the overall situation. If you wish to ensure the continuity and stability of the party's leadership, those old and sick comrades will have to retire gradually. They must not wrangle too much about their salaries and cling to a telephone, a passenger car, and a small foreign-style building. Communists cannot run after such things. We have had so many comrades-in-arms who died fighting and enjoyed none of these material comforts. They died in the grasslands, they died on the snowy mountains, they died in the rivers, and they died under the gun barrels of the enemies: they did not even see socialism. We cannot forget them.

The sunshine of early autumn beamed into the guest hall. The general waved his hand and said: Let us go out and take a look in the yard! With one hand resting on his chest and the other pointing at rows of flowers and bushes thriving under the autumn sun, he said, crisply: Actually, life in retirement is not bad at all. We have chance to read all the prescribed documents, to read newspapers regularly,

and whenever we have some leisure we can plant some vegetables here and some flowers there. Once in a while, we go to a hospital to rest for a few days and have our "old machinery" examined and repaired somewhat. Life is very severe but we are by no means idle. When I relax, I always think about my war life, write memoirs, or analyze examples of guerrilla warfare. He thereupon asked a family member to bring a copy of "Life in the Military Ranks," which includes memoirs written by him and other old comrades. As he flipped through its pages, he said: Perhaps this can also be regarded as an inheritance bequeathed to posterity! Living such a restful life, our spirit and our health both fare well. Some comrades even joked that if he had not retired, we probably would have gone to see Marx long ago. As he spoke at this point, he once more let forth unrestrained laughter.

In the yard in the vicinity of Hangzhou, surrounded by serene fields, the general's heart still beats in close synchronization with the pulse of the times.

Division Staff Chief's Voluntary Demotion

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 4

[XINHUA dispatch from Nanjing: "Division Chief of Staff in the Provincial Military District Voluntarily Asks To Step Down"]

[Text] XINHUA reporter Wu Dongfeng [0702 2639 1496] reports: Zheng Renbo [6774 0088 3134], chief of staff of a certain division in the Zhejiang Provincial Military District of the People's Liberation Army, voluntarily asked to step down and make way for a competent comrade.

Since joining the army in 1960, Zheng Renbo has performed many years of leadership work at the basic level. In 1967 he was promoted from regimental commander to division chief of staff. Along with the development of modernization work among the troops, he has increasingly felt that the command of various armed forces to fight a coordinated war touches upon a great deal of military science and cultural knowledge. His own cultural level is rather low however, and feeling he could not competently handle the job himself, [he feared] this might well damage the cause of the party. Consequently, he voluntarily submitted to the higher organ a request that he no longer serve as division chief of staff, and expressed the hope that he might be used at a lower post.

After Zheng Renbo's request for demotion was submitted, many people felt dumbfounded. Some comrades said: There is a great difference in living standards between division-level cadres and regimental-level cadres; this approach is rather stupid. Other comrades said: Only when one has committed errors does one ask to be demoted. Chief of Staff Zheng Renbo has not committed any errors, so he should not be demoted. Countering these discussions, Zheng Renbo explained patiently. He said: I am not suited to serve as division chief of staff. To vacate this position in favor of a comrade with a strong professional capability is beneficial to the revolutionary cause.

In August last year, Zheng Renbo was dismissed from his post as division chief of staff, and he is once more serving as regimental commander. During this past year,

he worked together with a "squad" of regimental party committee members with one heart to conduct investigation and study, to seek truth from facts while attempting to solve "old, big, and difficult" problems, to mobilize the masses, and courageously to renovate education and training, thereby conferring an inspiring new look on regimental work. Cadres and fighters all praised Zheng Renbo, saying that even though he was demoted, his zeal was not reduced; he is a good cadre and a good party member who understands and upholds the overall situation.

Cadres' Retirement

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 3

[Report: "Nanjing Military Unit Looks After Retired Cadres: 138 More Division-Level Cadres Retire This Year"]

[Excerpts] The party committee of the Nanjing military unit respects and looks after retired old cadres and makes it possible for one group of retired cadres after another to happily embark on their new life. From January to August this year, 138 more division-level cadres from the whole unit have been given permission to retire to rest.

Among the retired old cadres this year, many fighters are old models and old heroes who have always enjoyed the respect of the vast ranks of commanding officers. Among them are Li Yenfu [2621 5888 4395], senior division-level consultant to the Nanjing Garrison District and member of the old Red Army, who struggled hard for a total of half a century and who was recently appraised as a fine communist; Li Peizhen [2621 0012 2823], third-class people's hero of East China and deputy division-level consultant to the Nantong Military Subdistrict; and so on. These old cadres understand and support the overall situation. They have voluntarily obeyed the organization's decisions, and not a few comrades have taken the initiative to recommend talented successors. Their lofty style and fine quality have been encouraged and exalted by the leading organ of the unit.

The party committee of the Nanjing military unit actively adopts measures to look after the livelihood of retired old cadres. Principal responsible comrades of the military district regularly go down to the basic level to understand and solve the practical problems of retired cadres.

9255

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

ADMISSION TO MILITARY SCHOOLS--In early August, nine fighters of a certain anti-aircraft regiment of the naval unit stationed on Hainan Island received admission notices from military schools. They elatedly declared: This is inseparable from the fact that the leaders of the unit are paying attention to cultural study and grasping it well. This regiment has always paid greater attention to cultural study by cadres and fighters, and has achieved good results. Last year, seven fighters passed the entrance examinations of universities and military schools. This year, the regiment party committee paid even greater attention to grasping well the cultural study of cadres and fighters in order to make early preparations for the training of personnel by schools at military units. On the basis of the requirements of these schools, they specifically sought to grasp the study of fighters with a junior middle school and senior middle school level of culture. The whole regiment conducted 27 junior middle school level classes and 9 senior middle school level classes, and selected 90 comrades with definite teaching competence from the cadres and fighters as teachers, while the party committee allocated one standing member to take charge. Because the leaders paid attention and the methods adopted were appropriate, the cultural level of the cadres and fighters of this regiment has been rising steadily. During the student recruitment operations of the military schools this time, 16 comrades from this regiment registered to take the entrance examination; 9 fighters have already been formally admitted, and 2 more comrades are still awaiting their notices. This is the regimental-level unit in which more fighters than elsewhere have passed the entrance examination to military schools. [Excerpts] [Haikou HAINAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 80 p 3] 9255

WORK FOR WOUNDED VETERANS--The Tianzhu County Revolutionary Committee has properly placed [in work posts] the gloriously wounded and maimed veterans of the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam. Of the 23 veterans in the county, except in the case of one on account of a particular situation, the other 22 happily walked to their posts of work. In order to handle this job well, the county delegated a vice chairman of the County Revolutionary Committee to be in charge and to hold many meetings of responsible persons of the People's Militia Department, the Personnel Bureau, the Bureau of Civil Administration, etc., which conducted case studies on the question of their specific placement. The placement office also convened a forum to seriously listen to the [veterans'] demands and opinions. [Excerpts] [Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 80 p 2] 9255

MILITIA ANTIAIRCRAFT UNIT CONFERENCE--The provincial military district's militia antiaircraft gun construction on-the-spot experience exchange conference lasted

4 days. It was concluded on 13 [September] in Daqing Municipality. The more than 140 delegates from the province listened to the presentation of Daqing Municipality's experiences, watched the division-regiment-battalion three-level drill exercise of the Daqing militia, witnessed the demonstration of actual firing by the militia's antiaircraft guns, and visited the militia's armory, gun positions, three-level command headquarters, and training corps facilities. At the conference, the provincial military district deployed the militia's antiaircraft gun construction tasks. The general staff headquarters, the Military Commission artillery corps, the Shenyang Military District, and Liaoning and Jilin provincial military districts all sent representatives to participate in the conference. [Text] [Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1] 9255

CSO: 4005

AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RECRUITING YOUNG, EDUCATED LEADERSHIP CADRES URGED

Beijing HUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

Article by Teng Wensheng [1324 1429 1932]: "Strive To Lower the Age of Leading Personnel and Provide Them With Intellectual and Professional Training"

[Text] One of the very important and pressing issues in our current national political life is to actively rejuvenate various leadership organizations, gradually lower the age level but raise the level of professional expertise of our leadership personnel. Whether or not this issue will be well handled is related to whether or not we can truly develop the superiority of the socialist system and the progress and failure of the socialist modernization programs.

We must adhere to the policies and goals stipulated during the Fifth Plenary Session, firmly persist in rejuvenating the various leadership organizations, gradually lower the age level but raise the level of professional expertise of our leadership personnel. In order to achieve the latter, we must liberate our thinking in a big way. By liberating our thinking, we mean that we should liberate ourselves from the absolute views and thinking as mentioned in the following.

Firstly, we must liberate ourselves from our prejudice against education and intellectuals and similar leftist thinking. Scientific and cultural knowledge is an indispensable force in the advancement of socialism. In the course of the four modernizations, a leader has to have certain expertise and specialized knowledge, no matter which position he holds. We cannot perpetuate our socialist system on the basis of illiteracy or semi-illiteracy. As Engels put it nicely: "The enterprises of a proletarian, socialist society need lawyers, as well as 'doctors, engineers, chemists, agricultural pharmacists and other specialists. This is because we not only have to handle our political apparatus but also the entire production system; and for this purpose we have no need for papyrus words but a wealth of knowledge.'" (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, No 22, p 487). However, owing to various historical reasons, especially after years of destruction and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there still exists among our peer groups the leftist tendency of despising education and intellectuals. Some comrades consider intellectuals willfully apathetic when they bury themselves in pursuit of research work for the benefit of the people and society. Some consider them arrogant when these educated people show that they think independently and express different opinions. Still others consider the mental work of intellectuals as something which alienates them from the masses. They even consider their lifestyles bourgeois. As a result of such an attitude, intellectuals have neither been attracted with respectability

positions nor have they been recruited. This is the weakness in our education and intellectuals is without doubt a reflection of the fact that typical ideas and small peasant mentality have not yet been completely shaken. To our comrades, particularly those who hold responsible positions, various and sometimes of this leftist ideological trap, our goal to create a class of leaders with professional expertise and specialized knowledge is nothing but empty talk.

Secondly, we must liberate ourselves from the reign of bureaucracy. The recruitment of talented people is mainly a matter of organization and management. We do have great talents. Since the founding of New China, we have trained more than 3 million college graduates and 4.5 million high school graduates. After one or two decades of revolutionary training and experience, most of them have acquired a medium of political and professional status, and these people are young and energetic. There is also a group of young and middle-aged cadres who came from the working class and peasant families and who have, by diligence and self-discipline, acquired a literary level equivalent to that of college or high school graduates. In conclusion, we can find talented people everywhere who are qualified to handle the tasks of modernization. The problem is that our leadership cadres are imbued with bureaucratic ideas and they have never made an effort to seek out or recruit these people. Some of our leadership organizations and cadres are unable to understand the current situation. They occupy high-level positions but work by the book, and they recruit those whom they know or people who are older. Their vision is limited and they do not pay attention to the issue of training or creating a class of professional specialists among cadres. Only by forgoing such a bureaucratic attitude and extending our vision to include the masses can we recruit talented people in all walks of life who are young and energetic. We should also boldly recruit these people into the ranks of the party, government, economic bureaus, and scientific and educational institutions.

Thirdly, we must liberate ourselves from the old habit of promotion based on seniority. The credentials of a person indicate his experience and history of struggles. However, titles and credentials per se do not necessarily indicate the depth of one's education or expertise. In the course of recruiting and appointing cadres, we should consider their credentials but in no way let such credentials be considered as the sole criterion. We should understand that the backward notion of seniority is still pervading the minds of many people, and it seriously affects our work in personnel reorganization. If we do not achieve a breakthrough in this respect, our distinguished young and middle-aged people will remain neglected for a long time and our enterprises will suffer great losses. We have learned many similar lessons in the past. Take the factory as an example. If we do not appoint someone who has a relatively high level of professional expertise as well as management capabilities as the head of a factory, but rather we select someone on the basis of seniority or credentials alone, it will be impossible to run the factory well. We have currently witnessed such incidents. In some units and universities, the workers select their own cadres. But there are cases of people with modest background experience and qualifications but who have quickly demonstrated their capabilities by transforming the nature of their units. They have done so mainly by self-recommendation. Can we not consider these people? Of course, to accomplish a breakthrough in the matter of seniority, and boldly recruiting and appointing distinguished and talented people, we do not mean to repeat our experience during the Cultural Revolution when people secured promotions overnight. Rather, we should do as Lenin said when he was advising the recruitment of new cadres: "We must boldly distinguish our old ways."

"train these people and help them quickly gain access to suitable posts," and "let them have the opportunities in practicing their talents in their professions." ("Collected Works of Lenin," No 4, p 81).

While liberating our thinking, we must reform and perfect our organizational and cadre systems so as to ensure that young and energetic people who possess expertise can exercise their talents at their positions. Herein lies the key in realizing the rejuvenation and professionalization of all leadership cadres. Whether or not our organizational system or cadre system is good or perfect depends on its ability to fully develop the wisdom and talents of our cadres. It also depends on its ability to rejuvenate the various leadership organizations, so that distinguished, talented people will not be ignored and forgotten. Using the latter as a criterion, it is obvious that our present organizational and cadre systems are very imperfect, and that they are blighted by many defects and inefficiencies, which are unfavorable to the recruitment of young or relatively young and distinguished, talented people into responsible positions. We must reform these systems.

For a long time, our various departments and units have rarely applied entrance examinations and recruitment tests in appointing cadres. Rather, the organization or the personnel department assigns positions to individual applicants depending on their capabilities. Evidence shows that sole reliance on assignment is no longer able to meet with the requirements of our modernization programs. Therefore, we must reform our assignment policy and gradually elaborate our recruitment system to include testing, advertising, and selection procedures. We must reduce the number of cadres hired by assignment to a minimum.

The tenure policy for leadership cadres is not only prevalent in all of our organizations but also it has become implicitly accepted as a rule. This policy has seriously hindered the possibility of creating a class of efficient, energetic, and distinguished leadership cadres, and it is one of the reasons leading to the senility of our leadership personnel. In order to change this situation, it is important that we should specify the length of tenure for all cadres, but not let them think that they can hold their positions for an indefinite length of time.

We must review our past lessons and experiences while keeping in mind the history and present conditions of our cadres, and devise a practical and concrete policy with regard to examination, review, training, promotion, appointment, supervision, reward and punishment, retirement, and dismissal of cadres. With a concrete policy of examination, review, and training, we can make cadres learn diligently, work hard, and raise their levels of education and professional expertise. With a concrete promotion and appointment policy, we can guarantee that we can promote talented people who have distinguished themselves in their work; and we will make room for these people. With a concrete supervisory and reward and penalty policy, we can tell the right from the wrong and dismiss those who are not capable at work. With a concrete retirement and dismissal policy, we can make proper arrangement for young and old cadres. In conclusion, only with a comprehensive and healthy policy can we guarantee that our cadres will meet the requirements of the four modernizations, frequently rejuvenate and reform themselves. We can also guarantee that cadres at various levels are people who adhere to the four principles, who are rich in experience, and who have a revolutionary zeal and who possess specialized knowledge and leadership talents.

Old cadres shoulder an important responsibility in the course of rejuvenating and creating a class of professional revolutionaries among our leadership cadres. Many comrades have been thinking about this matter. They are willing to retreat to the second rank for the sake of the revolution. By allowing younger people with specialized knowledge to become the successors of the revolution, these old cadres are doing a service to the party and the people. They have served as commendable models and hence are well respected and praised by the people and society. However, we must see that, though some old cadres understand that their first task is to fulfill the responsibility to train and promote younger successors, many are still not enthusiastic in carrying out their task because of various misgivings.

Some comrades are paranoid because of their experience during the Cultural Revolution, and they are worried that they may not be able to recruit the right young people. Will they recruit people who belong to factions or who have factional ideas or who are undesirable? This is because there are still areas, departments, and units in which the leadership hierarchy has not yet been reorganized. Some factional groups will want to use the pretext of promoting young people in order to recruit their own kind. However, we will not make the same mistakes that we did during the Cultural Revolution so long as we maintain a high degree of vigilance, insist on the right ideology and political and organizational lines, rely on research and the masses, and perform our task boldly but meticulously.

Some comrades feel uncomfortable at the possibility of recruiting young cadres who do not have adequate experience or who cannot do their job. The worry is unnecessary. In fact, we can understand this issue better by reviewing the experience of our old comrades. How old were our old comrades when they first shouldered important responsibilities? They were merely in their 20's or 30's. Some of them became team leaders, group leaders, or generals when they were in their 30's. It is a fact that our young comrades are rather lacking in training and experience. It is natural that they are so because they have not been in such positions and hence do not know the business. Just because they lack training, we must give them the opportunity. Just because they are lacking in experience, they need help and guidance from old comrades.

Some comrades say that since they are no longer in the front rank, why should they keep struggling for the party? This is a mistaken notion. Having tenure as a leadership cadre is not the same as struggling for socialism for the rest of one's life. By changing the tenure system, we do not change the fact that one has to work for socialism throughout one's lifetime. Ideals of a Communist Party member is confirmed, even if one is relieved of all party responsibilities, one's honor of having been a party member will never be disregarded. As members, we must forever fight on behalf of the party of its own sake and for the sake of the people.

Some comrades worry about the complaints of their families and relatives as well as social pressure when they retreat to the second rank. It is true that such a situation is undesirable, but it all depends on how we look at it. As Communist Party members, we should not be hampered by old values and habits and public opinions. We should rely on the magnanimity of comrades, and we should dare fight against old values and habits and the incorrect views of the public. Of course, our party and government should make proper arrangements for retired cadres or cadres who have retreated to the second rank in terms of their political living, and learning opportunities. It is because we have to be responsible for taking these old cadres out of the party for the people.

To realize the recruitment of young leadership cadres who have specialized expertise and high educational levels is an urgent task in our country's socialist modernization programs. The latter is a necessity based on objective conditions. If we work hard to implement this reform, our country and people will have a great future, and our modernization programs will come to fruition.

9471

CSO: 8005

WRITERS MUST PORTRAY THE NEW PEOPLE OF SOCIALISM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Lu Guishan [7120 6311 1472]: "Project the Images of New People in the New Long March"]

[Text] After studying the literary works of the past year or two, I have made a salient observation: Not a few literary works choose to combine the projecting of the images of new people with the reflecting of social contradictions. Especially in the case of certain new authors in literary circles, they dare to expose various social contradictions in the new era with the courage of an artist by means of projecting the images of new people in the New Long March, and thereby they carry out daring explorations on how to project the images of new people and reflect social contradictions.

I.

It is possible for an artist who observes life with the Marxist world view to combine the projecting of the images of new people with the reflecting of social contradictions better, more clearly, and more consciously. Just as Gorkiy pointed out in his letter to Chekhov in his day, an author should stand at "the height of life," aim accurately at the empty spaces in life, and "drive deep into life like driving iron drills into the shell of the earth." True heroes are not vain and stern deities, nor are they strawmen without blood and flesh, without life. They are deeprooted in the soil of life; to put it in the words of Balzac, "these people are conceived in the viscera of their time." The heroes of the ages usually rush back and forth on horseback on the battlefield and charge forward in the front of the fight, where sharp, major social contradictions are solved. As the people's representatives, they shoulder the heavy tasks of the time and cry out the heart-felt words of the people. Their ideas and actions are not accidental, not determined by their narrow individual senses and selfish goals but, just as Engels pointed out: "Their motives do not come from their trivial individual desires, but are derived from the historical trends in which they are situated." The character Li Jian [2621 0256], in "Report the Blossoming of the Spring Flowers," says: In the 30 years since the founding of our state, our economy has been very backward. Can I sit still? This impulse and excitement of "not being able to sit still" are precisely "derived from the new historical trends." This expresses the fiery, flaming emotions of millions upon millions of the Chinese people to revive China.

Chen Mo said: "A new writer should forever begin his career with works he has created independently." These images of new people come largely from the pens of the new literary personalities who are active in the forefront of creative work. These new literary personalities live among the characters they describe; they can display their shining dispositions with their sensitive observing and captivating power and, by means of their singular discoveries, can accurately manage the contents of their ideas and actions, endowing them with the brilliance of the time.

Only by understanding new life and struggles and by revealing new social contradictions can one provide a characteristic, typical environment for projecting the images of new people. The characteristic, typical dispositions of socialist new people are shaped precisely in the concrete social environment which is full of given social contradictions. Apart from revealing the social contradictions in realistic life, one would have no way of describing the typical personalities in a typical environment. A typical environment is not abstract or singular; it is always lively, concrete, and tied to definite class relations and all kinds of social contradictions. The so-called typical environment should be understood as an environment structured by typical social contradictions. Socialist new people are really living and struggling in a typical environment structured by given social contradictions. Their heroic behavior and lofty thinking are both determined and aroused by definite social contradictions, and at the same time they are expressed in the process of solving these contradictions. Only by revealing new social contradictions fraught with feelings of the time can one provide a given typical environment for the projection of socialist new people, thereby exploring the ideas and actions of the socialist new people marked by fresh characteristics of the time and enabling them to play out one act after another of the drama in the overcoming of hardships and obstacles.

II.

The author of "Factory Director Qiao Takes Office" says: "The need for courage is sometimes more urgent than the need for genius." An author must face the stern life, participate in life, discover life, and dare to dig out highly meaningful social contradictions from the viscera of the time, and then generalize the important and urgent social problems with which millions upon millions of the people are concerned, in the hope of arousing the party and the people to ponder on them.

A play in cinematic literature "The Tower Is in Their Hands" (DIANYING CHUANGZUO [CINEMATIC WORKS] No. 1, 1980) may be characterized by a certain naivete on the part of a new writer, but it has somehow succeeded in revealing in time the diverse irregularities in our ideology, our leadership style, and our cadre system: certain leaders who are tinged by bureaucracy and the style of officialdom [are some personalities who] give orders blindly; they take wasteful extravagance as something "required by revolution"; they take not paying attention to work efficiency as "carrying on steadily"; they cover the "will of the superior" with the "will of the party's leadership"; and they put the armor of rules and regulations as pedantry and scholasticism.... By revealing new contradictions in the process of the four modernizations, this work points out that the four modernizations are a historic undertaking. A magnificent revolutionary cause must represent the interests of the people and follow scientific laws in its operations, and must not take upon itself the position of a father-in-law and throw its weight around at random. Being responsible to science is consistent with being responsible to

the people. Whoever brags about being responsible to the people apart from being responsible to science is only resorting to smart but harmful, empty words. In the struggle against vain, benighted bureaucracy and subjectivism, the work dexterously projects this image of a new person, Chen Zhenhua [7115 2182 5478], who combines in one personality the courage and fortitude of a revolutionary and the strict, scientific attitude of a professional. It fairly successfully describes the practical spirit and scientific attitude of Chen Zhenhua as a youthful revolutionary, as well as his foresight and adaptability in gaining control over objective laws, and thus it demonstrates his assertive style and aptitude in rising at the slightest suggestion of opportunity and taking action with alertness and poignance.

The novels "Public Servant" (XINWAN [NEW COLLECTION OF EXTRACTS] No 3, 1979) and "After the Promotion" (CHANGJIANG WENYI [CHANGJIANG LITERATURE] No 2, 1980) suggest to people the question of how cadres who assume leading posts anew can take control of power and exercise power well on behalf of the people. These two works project the images of two likable, respectable party member cadres who serve as public servants. They forget about themselves and are honest and devoted, with a fiery character and a crystal-like heart. The attitude with which they resist and eliminate the base conduct of those who take advantage of their office to secure privileges for themselves and show how they hate evil as if it is their enemy, and the measures by which they proceed to remove evil as thoroughly as possible, reflect the deeply held desires of millions upon millions of people. The principal character of "Public Servant," Gu Xingchen [7357 2502 6591], who resumes office as the old chief of the Shuangfenghe Farm Management Bureau, has the style of an explosive mine and the spirit and vigor of spring. He serves as the renovator for the development of modern agriculture with a problem-solving capability unencumbered by trivial details, and as a trailblazer sweeping away thorny obstacles. He seeks to streamline institutions and cut off the tumors on the body of the leading organ. He respects the talented and seeks out the virtuous, and he recommends specialist personnel well versed in agriculture and technology to important posts. He energetically works for the "exploitation of intelligence" and organizes staff members and workers at the farm to march toward science and technology.... These firm and decisive measures fully demonstrate the political foresight of Gu Xingchen as a leader for the modernization of agriculture. "After the Promotion" projects the image of a respectable servant of the people. The novel describes how Shen Huaide [3088 2037 1795], quiet and subdued for 20 years, was suddenly elevated to the post of secretary of the County Party Committee like a new star rising in the sky above the yard of the County Party Committee. Shen Huaide sheds all vulgarities associated with the "newly rich whose complexion changes." He takes the power which the people confer on him not as a means for fishing for praise and reputation but as a burden and responsibility on the shoulders of a public servant. The novel fairly profoundly reveals the root cause of why cadres fail to fulfill their duties. The reason why people's power is trampled underfoot is because some cadres are superstitious about power, just like that which is believed in and promoted by Yu Jinzhong [3266 6651 1813] in the novel. The power in his hand is used as the fragrant bait to draw people to his side, the opium to corrupt people, and the especially effective and very reliable weapon to conquer people's souls. At the same time, certain masses with narrowminded ideas about small production also worship power. With a penetrating eye and a vigorous and poignant pen, the author sketches and anatomizes the faces and souls of those

worshippers who surround Shen Huaide after his promotion. From his sides, which have been cold and quiet for 20 years, there now seems to burn a fire that can really warm people's hands. Shen Huaide suddenly becomes noble. His acquaintances and relatives seem to have become suddenly more numerous; these people, humbly bowing, tendering deferential handshakes and ingratiating good wishes, and even mystifyingly flirting, all converge on him from different angles. How badly the people need a hero who remains unmoved in his lofty posture, in the face of the power-worshiping disease and the foul air of fawning and obsequiousness! Coldly holding his ground vis-a-vis such vulgarities in his mundane world, Shen Huaide "begins to grin cheerlessly in his mind as a matter of course, his bushy eyebrows join in a knot, and his peaceful face suddenly becomes gloomy." Such a sketch not only indicates the concern and contempt that a helper of the people feels in the midst of such a foul atmosphere of power worship, but also, in contrast, it forcefully illustrates the true spirit of Shen Huaide's firm, pure, and lofty political ideology as a servant of the people. Being superstitious, worshipful, or abusive in respect to the power conferred by the people is tantamount to committing a crime against the people. Shen Huaide thus prudently and sparingly uses the power the people have conferred upon him. In order to "rectify the official style and mollify the people's feelings," he suggests that the party's leading organs must pay attention to the following points: guard against erosion by social diseases and poisons, so as not to allow the deformation of the yardsticks for judging people; be vigilant vis-a-vis the fact that some people perhaps have many false masks up their sleeves and always stand ready to put one of them on at the right time and according to the relevant need. Thus, one must rely on one's own discerning eyes and one's own Red heart that cannot be blackened, so as to recognize people's true faces, penetrate their foul or pure character, remain conscious at all times of possible illness or change among the ranks of our cadres, and thereby assure a blood-and-flesh relationship between the people's regime and the masses.

"The Love of the Big Wild Goose," "When a Man Reaches Middle Age," and "Expectations" bring out in a timely way the major issue now attentively considered by the whole society as to how, in the process of the four modernizations, talented persons should be discovered, trained, cared for, and used. "When a Man Reaches Middle Age," in particular, not only shows the uncontrollable anger that scientific and technical personnel's hard-up circumstances have provoked in the author, but also penetratingly sketches the true conditions of life. The issue it raises is channeled to the social trend, so that it touches the hearts of hundreds and thousands of people and therefore has earned the heartfelt liking of the vast ranks of readers. This novel contains a suggestion to improve the living conditions and salaries of scientific and technical personnel, and also a criticism of such erroneous attitudes as indifference toward the special needs of complicated labor and even scorn or abuse pertaining thereto. While public opinion has been aired day in and day out about how talented personnel should be discovered and respected, the exits for braindrain somehow are not stopped: this is really a rather poignant and satirizing situation. The principal character of the novel, eye physician Lu Wenting [6424 2429 1250], succeeds in restoring to health people's diseased eyes by means of her consummate skills and sophisticated techniques. The author of the novel also plays the role of an eye surgeon; through her writing, she operates on society's "diseased eyes" and performs a successful "cataract removal," enabling society to reopen its eyes to see the importance and urgency of paying close attention to talented personnel, and also to see the happily surprising outlook of socialist new people with an outstanding, resilient character like Lu Wenting. Lu

Wenting does not shout great empty words, but is practical and meticulous and serious and responsible in her work; she lets the blood flow quietly. She accepts life's trials and shoulders the heavy burden of her work like a lone, unassisted warrior who is bold and resolute, stubborn and faithful like a camel in the desert, unmindful of hardship, and aiming at a distant destination, despite the heavy task involved. Her boiling patriotic blood never coagulates; her burning enthusiasm of devotion to the motherland never cools off. She longs to receive the motherly love, understanding, and comfort of the motherland, but she never gives up her kindred love for the mother just because the mother happens to be poor, weak, often sick, and hence unable to look after her as carefully as she would like. In turn, then, does such a good daughter of the motherland like Lu Wenting not deserve the party's and the people's precious care and love? Does she not deserve the respect and support of all of society?

III.

Through the projecting of the images of new people and the reflecting of social contradictions, one can more directly and more forcefully participate in life, touch on shortcomings of the time, and also point out the direction for solving major social contradictions and social problems in the interest of consolidating our faith in sure victory and enhancing our courage in struggle. Through the exploration, pursuit, and aspiration of the new people in respect to the solution of new social contradictions and social problems, and through the demonstration of their blueprints, measures, and various efforts to face squarely and change irrational things, one can hint at the bright future of struggle and the trend of history in the interest of exalting uprightness, fostering the spirit of revolutionary heroism and revolutionary idealism. Even more important, the socialist new people of the era of the New Long March, as a new reality, already exist in the soil of our life. Their images and achievements are vivid and believable. These new people have inherited and given scope to the revolutionary ideas and traditions of the older generation of our proletarian revolutionaries. They have also stamped on them fresh imprints of the new era and garnered the poetic feelings of the new era; they have achieved a lofty spiritual state of mind. The strengthening of the character and ideology of these new people of the new era fully reflects the great power and vitality--solid and unshakable, and indestructible by any force--which are poured forth by our party and people in their attempt to solve the new social contradictions and social problems. Their very existence is a challenge and a protest to such negative emotions in our society as emptiness, downheartedness, listlessness, self-abandonment, and misgivings.

Creative literary works should facilitate the eradication of the gloomy atmosphere of pessimism and nihilism and help stimulate a revolutionary spirit, light the fire of idealism in the minds of the youths, and strengthen their faith in socialism through a demonstration of the brilliant achievements of the socialist generation of new people, through a demonstration of their wisdom in discovering, studying, and solving new problems and their courage in facing reality squarely and changing their own environment, through a demonstration of their fortitude, audacity, and truth-seeking spirit as revolutionaries, through a demonstration of their pursuits and explorations in respect to the new world, and through a demonstration of their longing and aspiration for the programs, measures, and blueprints for changing irrational social phenomena and toward their future life.

For example, the question of opposing bureaucratism and improving and strengthening party leadership is a matter of concern to millions upon millions of people. Not a few persons adopt a guarded approach to this, or lack confidence, or even feel completely discouraged. Many works have daringly, yet prudently, proposed this sharp social question. The authors have provided this and that kind of answer to this with their ever-burning, fiery excitement for the party and the people's cause. A simple expose is not easy to grasp accurately, and it can even evince mishandling or cause confusing contradictions of different kinds, making people feel puzzled and unable to see the outlet for solving this question. Propagating the ideas of anarchism knowingly or unknowingly may constitute a punishment for bureaucratism; however, not only is anarchism not the way to overcome bureaucratism, but on the contrary it is likely to be used as a pretext. Only by taking the correct standpoint, penetratingly analyzing the root causes of the rise of bureaucratism, and pointing out the correct path for overcoming bureaucratism can one succeed in achieving the real goal of improving and consolidating party leadership. For this reason, the key to the correct demonstration of this major thesis lies in discovering the new people rooted in the life of the new historical era. In the recent period, images of the new people projected by literary works have offered new explorations as to the root causes of and the solution for bureaucratism. Around the question of improving and developing the people's regime, the authors have made commendable efforts. They have projected the images of new people as [examples by which] servants of the people are best able to profoundly sense the earnest hopes on the part of the vast ranks of the people for the people's regime. They have grievously felt the erosive and disintegrating effect that bureaucratism has had on the people's regime, and they have fully understood the urgency and importance of eliminating the system and style of bureaucratism during the construction of the people's regime. They have exposed the fact that the root causes of the rise of bureaucratism, apart from other important factors, also have a very important relationship to the irrational nature of the cadre system and institutions. "The Small But Lingered Heart" describes the cruel story of how persecuted old cadres who have resumed their leadership posts once more become isolated from the people. The new person in "The Power Is in Their Hands," Chen Zhenhua, was originally a trailblazer in opposing bureaucratism and the style of officialdom. However, when he occupies an important position, he somehow becomes inevitably affected by a heavy dose of bureaucratism and the style of officialdom, thus turning himself from an anti-bureaucratic hero into a captive of bureaucratism. Can this have nothing to do with our cadre system at all? Such a thought-provoking, artistic description points up the importance of improving the leadership system. Shen Huaide in "After the Promotion" puts it very well: "The absence of superb cadres occurs in direct ratio to the falling off of their working style." This opinion shows considerable insight. In order to maintain the organic health of the people's regime, it is necessary to cut off the superfluous tumors attached to the body of the leadership, remove the heavy burdens from the people's shoulders, and uproot the weeds of bureaucratism. The understanding of bureaucratism and the various adopted measures pertaining thereto, as exemplified by the images of new people projected by these works, have directly molded public opinion on how to improve the party's leadership system, reflected the principal contradiction in the construction of our regime, and cried out the heartfelt words of millions upon millions of our people in wishing the power wielders in our party's and government's leading organs of various levels to really become "servants of the people."

How to reflect new social contradictions through the projecting of the images of new people is an important issue in literary theory and literary practice. The images of new people have already poured forth from a realistic life full of new social contradictions. Since creative works in this regard are still in their infancy, it would be unrealistic to think of summing up any theoretically mature experience therefrom. But authors must penetrate the various realms of socialist modernization to discover new people, and they must play a necessary role in bringing out and solving new social contradictions through their energetic reflection of the spirit of exploration and pursuit on the part of these new people, so as to promote the speedy and vigorous development of the undertakings of the "four modernizations."

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION, ECONOMICS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Zheng Yan [6774 6056]: "Correctly Understand and Handle the Relationship Between Education and Economics"]

[Text] How to correctly understand and handle the relationship between education and economics is a question that urgently awaits solution in our socialist modernization work. The Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee put forward the "definition of educational plans and educational systems suited to the needs of the development of the national economy" for inclusion on the important agenda of work of the whole party as a major issue in our march, toward the four modernizations, and demanded that it be speedily solved without any loss of time and opportunity. This was a major strategic decision after the summing up of international and domestic experience in economic construction. In order to correctly understand and handle the relationship between education and economics, we must do a good job of carrying out penetrating work of propaganda and persuasion.

I.

After the Second World War, a trend toward an increasingly closer combination of education, science, and economics has emerged in the world's developed countries; the role of education and science and technology in economic development has become even more salient. It looks like this is a phenomenon in the nature of a law. Marx said with foresight long ago: "The development of fixed assets indicates the considerable degree to which general social knowledge has become direct productive power...and hence the considerable degree to which the process of social life itself has come to be subject to the control of general intelligence and to transformation by such intelligence." The development of modern society proves that this dictum on the part of Marx is entirely correct.

The development of economics determines the development of education; the developing conditions of education may also promote or delay economic development. In a situation in which social productive forces are not yet quite developed, education cannot have a high degree of development. Even though as early as the middle of the 18th century, classic economist Adam Smith had already discoursed on the economic effects of education, this did not arouse the attention of the bourgeoisie. By the 19th century, because of the development of large machinery industry, the bourgeoisie began to sense that to carry out compulsory elementary education was a necessary condition for developing production. But because what the bourgeoisie cared most

about was how much profit were involved, it was willing only to put up a pathetic amount of money to administer education at the time. By the late 19th century and early 20th century, capitalism had developed to the monopolistic stage, society-wide large-scale production had made new developments in science and technology, and people who had mastered science and technology increasingly revealed their formidable role in the development of production and the elevation of labor productivity. Only then did the bourgeoisie begin to pay attention to education. Many bourgeois statesmen came to realize that talents were also a kind of wealth; it was necessary to invest in the "exploitation of human capabilities." International competition was a technological competition; technological competition was educational competition. Only by energetically "exploiting the resources of manpower" and elevating the scientific and cultural level of the workers would it be possible to gain great profits. Hence, during the recent decades the bourgeois in the capitalist countries have demonstrated great enthusiasm for the training of learned laborers and the development of educational enterprises. The emphasis placed on the training of scientific and technological talent and the energetic development of educational enterprises constituted a major reason why the economies of certain countries were able to gain speedy recovery and development after the Second World War.

Lenin paid close attention to the formidable role of science and education in developing the economy. While personally presiding over the formulation of the electrification plan in the RSFSR in the 1920's, he tied the development of the economy and the development of science and education closely together. When Stalin grasped the Soviet Union's educational reform in the 1930's, he put forward the well-known slogans "Technology determines everything" and "Cadres determine everything." Because of his energetic efforts to develop education and train scientific and technological talent, he accelerated the process of the country's industrialization and made it possible for the Soviet Union's science and technology to achieve leading positions in the postwar world in certain important fields. The launching of the Soviet Union's first sputnik in 1957, in particular, shook various countries of the world. The great practice of Lenin and Stalin enabled people to understand the formidable role of education and science and technology in promoting the development of the social economy.

If the socialist system is to triumph over the capitalist system, it must in the final analysis create a labor productivity higher than that of capitalism. The improvement of social labor productivity is determined mainly by the development of science and technology and the improvement of the people's educational, scientific, and cultural level. Developing educational enterprises and improving the level of education are both very important strategic measures for the realization of the four modernizations and the ultimate triumph of the socialist cause.

The economically developed countries in the postwar world have been paying close attention to the study of the relationship between economics and education and to the calculation of the economic results of educational investment. According to the view of American educational economist Schultz, the ratio of the effect of the capital spent on education in the United States in 1967 among all the factors augmenting the national income was 33 percent. According to an estimate in the Soviet magazine ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, the national income obtained through education and the improved skills of working personnel increased threefold from 1960 to 1975 and made up 33 percent of the sum total of the national income in 1975. Our scholars have not yet found out the economic returns of education. But if we simply look

...a somewhat at the history of the past 10 years, it is not hard to see the fundamental role of education in economic construction. In the 1950's, our education enjoyed greater development and succeeded in training more than 2 million high-ranking experts and medium professionals; by the 1960's, they played a major role in education, scientific research, and production. After the 10-year sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, we still have a contingent of several million professional cadres. Those who are playing a core role in various fronts today are mainly the students trained during the 17 years after the liberation of the whole country.

...is a big country of more than 900 million people; our manpower resources are very abundant. As long as we pay attention to the exploitation of our manpower resources and continue to elevate the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation, we shall have an endless supply of talent. Marxism holds that labor power is the important factor of productive power, and the instruments of production are created and wielded by the workers. The higher the scientific and cultural level of the workers is elevated, the more special talents are trained by the educational front. In this way, the more new productive forces will be created. Therefore, we must make up our minds to energetically develop our educational enterprises; only this can we do to carry out socialist modernized work.

II

Both positive and negative experience of our educational construction indicates that the development of education and the economy must be maintained in appropriate proportion to each other in order to have the two develop harmoniously. Otherwise, both education and the economy will come to play a negative role.

...the first 10 years during the first 7-year plan period were very well done. In that education and the economy developed with harmonious proportion. In 1957, total industrial and agricultural output value increased by 13.6 percent, and the number of students enrolled in higher institutions increased 11.9 percent, at middle universities 22.1 percent, and at ordinary middle schools 14.1 percent. Except in the case of the middle grade schools, schools which developed very slowly. Our development of higher institutions and middle schools during the 10 years is indeed a great achievement and a great success.

...the educational system started shortly after the founding of the new China, a long period for the realization that important educational work would be done. It is not easy to see the realization that, after the 10 years of training, important positions will be held only. It was not until 1957 that we saw the results of our 10-year training period in this regard. Several arguments can be put forward to show that the work was done.

...the 10 years of 1949, especially high and important positions were held by the graduates of the 10 years of education. In the 10 years of education, the number of students enrolled in higher institutions increased 11.9 percent, at middle universities 22.1 percent, and at ordinary middle schools 14.1 percent. This is a very significant achievement. In the 10 years of education, the number of students enrolled in higher institutions increased 11.9 percent, at middle universities 22.1 percent, and at ordinary middle schools 14.1 percent. This is a very significant achievement. In the 10 years of education, the number of students enrolled in higher institutions increased 11.9 percent, at middle universities 22.1 percent, and at ordinary middle schools 14.1 percent. This is a very significant achievement.

For a long time, our investment in education and investment in production have not been in proper proportion to each other. In order to develop the national economy more speedily, we must raise the ratio of educational funds in the national income and the state budget. At a time when the state is experiencing difficulties in finance and in the economy today, taking out a sum of money to use on educational undertakings might seem to affect the speed of economic development. But from the long-range point of view, laying the foundation of our educational enterprises, expanding the number of trained personnel, and raising the scientific and cultural level of technical personnel, technical workers, and peasants would enable us to achieve high-speed, sustained development. In this sense, correctly handling the relationship between education and economics is a major decisionmaking question that affects the future and destiny of the state. Therefore, educational funds should be given a relatively stable and rational rate in relation to the national income and the budgeted financial expenditures of the state. This ratio must be defined after serious study, in line with our economic and education situation and with reference to foreign experience, so that it can be made the basis for the formulation of programs and plans.

III.

In order to correctly handle the relationship between education and economics, we must also make the internal structure of education adapt to the changes in economic structure, and thereby cause education to adapt to economic development.

In 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out in his "Speech at the National Educational Work Conference" that the plans to foster and train experts and labor reserves should adapt to the planned, proportionate development of the national economy; they must not only visualize short-term needs but also foresee long-term needs; they must not only be based on the demands of the development of production and construction but also fully estimate the developmental trend of modern science and technology. The present situation, whereby the internal ratio of education is not adapted to the economic structure, must be gradually changed.

First of all, if we look at the ratio of development between all-day universities, middle schools, and elementary schools, we can see that it is not quite harmonious. Neither quantitatively nor qualitatively are our university students able as yet to meet the demands of our socialist modernization work. From now on, we may base ourselves on needs and possibilities and gradually develop collegiate short-term universities and middle professional schools in order to satisfy the urgent needs of economic construction. In the case of all-day universities, we must pay attention to qualitative elevation while taking steady steps to develop them. We must make up our minds to concentrate our limited manpower, material and financial resources to manage a few key universities and the key specialties of certain universities well, so as to truly turn them into educational centers and scientific research centers that will play a model role among all-day universities.

The number of students at all-day general middle schools, especially senior middle schools, is too large today. Those senior middle school graduates who can hope to be admitted to higher institutions make up only 4 percent of the total; most of these students must find employment. Because they have not undergone professional and technical training, they cannot adapt to the demands of economic construction after they find employment. Therefore, in the case of general senior middle schools,

we should control and compress them from now on in order to have more middle professional schools and technical professional schools. We should also increase professional and technical courses in the senior middle schools so that after the students graduate, they can more speedily adapt to the demands at work.

How to popularize all-day elementary schools, mainly elementary education in the countryside, as soon as possible is a major problem requiring urgent solution in the modernization of our agriculture. The key to popularizing elementary education in the countryside today is to transfer those teachers who are at schools run by the people, and who are found to be qualified through examination and turn them into state employees group by group and period by period according to the financial capabilities of the state. All countries of the world take education as a state undertaking, and most countries generally practise compulsory education. Our country should give timely consideration to the means to carrying out a compulsory educational system and popularizing a 5-year system and 8-year system of education in a planned way.

Secondly, from the structure of our secondary education, we can see that the middle professional schools, agricultural middle schools, and professional technical schools constitute a weak link. Our socialist construction requires a large number of specialist personnel and middle-level technical personnel, and it should keep the two contingents in a rational ratio to each other. At present, the ratio of the number of students enrolled at universities and colleges to the number of students enrolled in middle professional schools is about 1:1; the number of students enrolled in general senior middle schools makes up 86 percent of those at all senior middle schools. This is irrational. The largest number needed for economic construction is middle-level technical personnel and technical workers. Therefore, the structure of secondary education (mainly the senior middle school stage) needs to be revamped, the middle professional schools and professional technical schools must be greatly reinforced.

Thirdly, from our present educational system we can see that adult education also constitutes a weak link. Among our staff members and workers today, 70-80 percent have a cultural level below that of junior middle school, and 5 percent are illiterate. Not a few responsible cadres at factories do not understand how to manage their affairs, and there are still many basic-level cadres in the countryside who are illiterate. In some provinces, 95 percent of farm machinery operators have never received any professional training; when the machines break down, no one knows how to repair them. The condition of low cultural level, low technical level, and low management level which generally prevails among our staff members and workers and countryside cadres is an extremely great obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations. We must make up our minds to strive to raise the cultural level of these staff members and workers with relevant conditions and cadres from those of the people's communes in the countryside up to a plane higher than that of junior middle school before 1985 through off-worksites studies and spare-time studies. We must also raise the scientific and cultural level of management level, and Marxist theoretical level of our in-service staff members and workers through the use of higher institutions for staff members and workers and peasants, television universities, correspondence and evening schools, or training classes so as to adapt to the developmental needs of our socialist modernization.

Fourthly, from the internal structure of higher education we can see that reform is needed. At present, the specialties at our higher institutions may be divided into 12 categories; the ratio between students enrolled in these various categories of specialties is irrational and needs to be adjusted. We do not have enough specialist personnel. None of those graduating in these specialties can yet meet the needs of our economic development. But we are even more short of specialist personnel in agriculture and forestry, finance and economics, and government and law.

At present, our agriculture is still relatively backward. The modernization of agriculture plays a decisive role in the four modernizations, but the number of our specialist personnel in agriculture and forestry falls far short of meeting our needs. At present, the number of students enrolled in the specialties of agriculture and forestry at schools is not even quite 70,000, or only 6.81 percent of all students enrolled in higher institutions. In order to adapt to the modernization of agriculture and make a go of scientific research in agriculture, agriculture and specialties serving agriculture must be strengthened from now on.

Scientific economic management is an important link in the realization of the four modernizations. All of the world's economically developed countries pay close attention to the training of economic management talent and have established many related subjects and new specialties such as information science, operations research, systems engineering, computer application, etc. The number of students enrolled in the specialties of finance and economics in our higher institutions today is scarcely more than 21,000, making up only 2.1 percent of the total of all students enrolled in such institutions. In order to make a go of our economic management science and realize the modernization of our economic management, we must energetically train management personnel and develop management science.

Strengthening the legal system is an important condition for maintaining social stability, protecting the people's interests, and realizing the four modernizations. Today, students in the specialties of government and law presently enrolled at schools number only slightly more than 3,300, making up a poor 0.3 percent of students of all higher institutions. Therefore, strengthening the specialties of government law in the higher institutions and speedily training personnel in government and law really constitute an urgent task.

To sum up the above, we must still undergo long, hard struggles in order to have the structure of our education adapt to the developmental needs of our national economy and to have education and the economy develop harmoniously. If we can do a good job of adjusting the proportionate relations between education and economics before 1985, if we do a good job of reforming the internal structure of our education, and firmly establish our socialist educational system, then we shall have created even more beneficial conditions for the four modernizations. In order to achieve this, it is necessary for the whole party to pay attention, and especially for leading comrades at various levels to look ahead, so that the development of education will be taken as an important condition for the realization of the four modernizations, and so that the relationship between education and economics will be correctly understood and handled. As long as comrades throughout the party can exert themselves and advance in the direction pointed out by the Fifth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we are definitely going to be able to realize the four modernizations by the end of the present century.

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